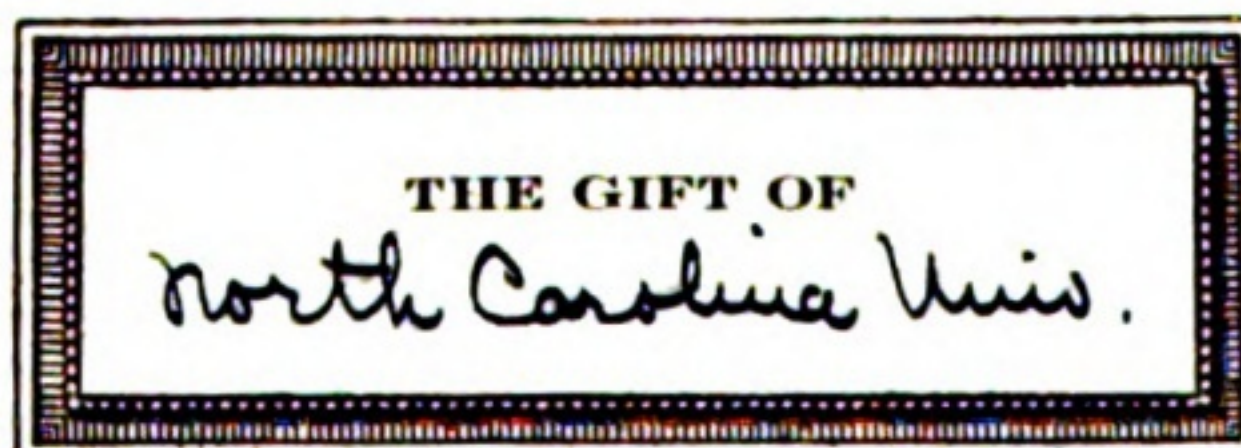
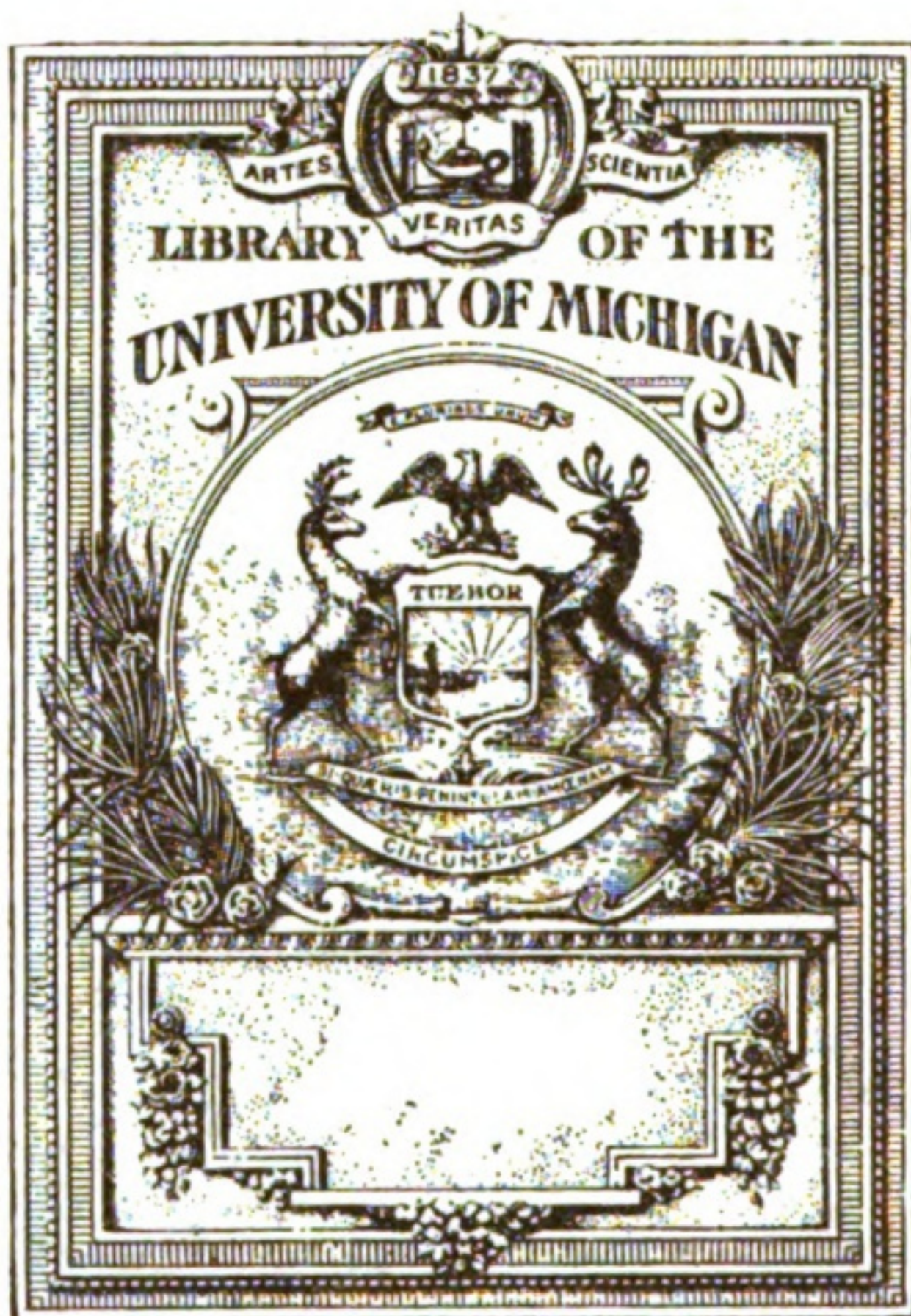


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Studies in Philology

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

EDWIN GREENLAW, Managing Editor

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GEORGE HOWE

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Studies in Philology

Volume XIX

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Number 1

BIOGRAPHICAL CRITICISM OF VERGIL SINCE THE RENAISSANCE

BY DUANE REED STUART

The study of Vergil's life-story, chronicled as it has been by many hands and at many times through almost two millenniums, yields results which far transcend antiquarian or pedantic interests. The figure of the poet may be used as a kind of constant by which to measure the progress of human thought. Every age has tended to fashion a Vergil after its own image, as it were.

Modern rationalism has played sad havoc with the picturesque coloring worked by the medieval man into his portraits of the poet. Gone forever is the likeness of the prophet-bard, "the sea of all wisdom," him whose pages formed a veritable oracle for the guidance of human life; gone, also, is the figure of the Neapolitan thaumaturge, the story of whose deeds and escapades was so widely circulated in the Middle Ages and even in the early Renaissance by poets and chroniclers. The sophistication on which modernity prides itself has its penalties. Readers of this paper, which essays to present an outline of the criticism expended on the biography of Vergil from the Renaissance down to this gray age when alchemy is obsolete and

No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,

will be confronted with material very sober and very prosaic compared with that found in the fascinating pages of Comparetti. And yet, in my eyes at least, all romance was not immediately shorn from our subject when the world emerged from medievalism. At all events, the history of modern biographical criticism of Vergil has its piquant chapters, and is by no means devoid of

human interest. It offers in miniature a conspectus of the intellectual advancement of modern man, as he passes over the various levels of criticism from simple faith in the written word to utter skepticism. It is no less true after Petrarch than it was before him, that what each century has been, it has read into the life of Vergil.

A necessary preliminary to tracing the development of criticism in our field is to consider the material to which critics who have dealt with events in the life of Vergil had, or might have had, recourse. Knowing the tools available to them, we shall then be in a position to appraise the successive products of their craftsmanship. Now, owing largely to the fame of Vergil and to the primacy speedily won by his poetry, it has happened that the most elaborate ancient biography of any Roman poet which has come down to us, is one of those devoted to him. 'This Life,'¹ as no teacher of Vergil needs to be reminded, is that which was prefixed by Aelius Donatus, in the fourth century, to his commentary on Vergil. The view that this Life is, in most essentials, and, saving a possible interpolation² or two, an abridgement of the sketch of Vergil composed by Suetonius for that old-time dictionary of biography, the *De Viris Illustribus*, cannot be seriously questioned. From this biography by Donatus were derived, directly or ultimately, to a greater or less extent, our other extant lives of Vergil, such as the poetic version by Focas, the so-called Servian Life, certain anonymous biographies found in manuscripts and scholia, and, as we have strong evidence to show, the life that bears the name of Probus.³

The text of the Life by Donatus, or of the Suetonian Life, as it is also termed, has undergone certain vicissitudes, the story of which will be rehearsed, not because they form an interesting chap-

¹ The text was first put on a sound basis by A. Reifferscheid in *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Reliquiae* (Leipsic, 1860), p. 52 f. [Later edited by Nettleship in *Ancient Lives of Vergil* (Oxford, 1879), now out of print, it is easily accessible in E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre Antiken Quellen* (Bonn, 1911); J. Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae* (Leipsic, 1912); J. O. Rolfe, *Suetonius*, Loeb Classical Series (London and New York, 1914), II, 464 f.

² On possible interpolations, see Norden, *R. M. LXI* (1906), p. 168; Klotz, *R. M. LXVI* (1911), p. 155 f.

³ For the history of this problem, see Norden and Klotz, *op. cit.*

ter in the history of Vergilian scholarship merely, but because they have exerted effects of far-reaching importance on the history of biographical criticism. We must remind ourselves that the text of the Life, as we read it, is not the version which multitudes of editors and critics had before them during a period of over four hundred years, ranging from about the beginning of the second quarter of the fifteenth century to the middle of the last century. Those humanists of the fourteenth century that show familiarity with the Life, such as Benvenuto da Imola, Francesco Nelli, and, it would seem, Boccaccio,⁴ had before them, as have we, a text based on manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. However, a generation⁵ before the *Editio Princeps* of Vergil saw the light, there was foisted on the world of humanism a text into which a quantum of legend and anecdote had been inserted. Whether this welding of apocryphal and authentic elements to form the interpolated Life, or the *Donatus Auctus* as it is sometimes technically designated, is due to one man and one time,⁶ or whether it is the product of gradual accretions to the ancient text, which began centuries before the Renaissance,⁷ is a point as to which the views of scholars have been at variance. The last word has not been said as to this and other problems suggested by the interpolated Life. Personally, I incline to Sabbadini's view that the interpolated text is a humanistic redaction of the original and that its genesis is to be placed not long after the year 1425.

Literary counterfeiting such as this was by no means *contra bonos mores* in the days of humanism; subsequent centuries have not been impeccable in these matters. And there is something to be said for the heart and for the head of the nameless perpetrator

⁴For the evidence, see Sabbadini, *Studi Ital. di filol. class.* xv (1907), pp. 242-44.

⁵The interpolated Life was used by Sicco Polenton in composing the life of Vergil included in the second edition of his *De Illustribus Scriptoribus Linguae Latinae*, issued in 1433; see Sabbadini, *op. cit.*, p. 256 f. I shall speak of this biography on a subsequent page.

⁶The *Donatus Auctus* was ascribed by Roth, *Germania* iv (1859), p. 286 f. to a Neapolitan scholar of the 12th century. Reifferscheid, *Suet. Reliq.* placed its origin in the early Renaissance; see p. 401. So Norden, *R. M.* lxi (1906), p. 166 f.

⁷The view of Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, p. 186, n. 3, = Eng. Trans. by Benecke, p. 140, n. 11.

of this philological hoax, if thus, according to strict ethics, we have to characterize the liberties taken with the authentic text of the Life by Donatus. *Ut temporibus illis*, he was a person of considerable erudition. Although he delves most deeply into Servius for his materials, he could quote Euripides and Hesiod, apparently at first hand. He could glean from authors such isolated *obiter dicta* pertaining to Vergil as the apothegm, *se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii*,⁸ which is related by Cassiodorus,⁹ and, as I believe that no one has hitherto pointed out, by John of Salisbury.¹⁰ Some of the modifications made in the original text are designed merely to expand the brevity or to elucidate fancied obscurities of certain passages. The outstanding tendency of the interpolations, however, is the desire to cast in higher relief the preternatural wisdom of Vergil, to endow him with surpassing qualities of mind and heart, and to clear his moral character of the aspersion, unconfuted in the authentic Life, which biographical interpretation of the *Second Eclogue* had for centuries promulgated. In a word, it is evident that, in the judgment of our humanistic redactor, the original version of the Life fell short of doing justice to the supermanhood and the quasi sanctity with which tradition had come to clothe the poet. But, wishful though the redactor was to exalt Vergil, he does not trick out the figure of the poet with the sort of trappings that the ambry of folk-tale and medieval lore could have furnished so richly. In the anecdotes which are inserted, his Vergil is generally the wise man and the gifted, if, at times, artful bard. In one passage only, to which I shall revert, do we find ourselves transported to the lower levels of occult cunning.

The interpolated Donatus speedily established a sway as the canonical life of Vergil. It was reprinted in dozens of editions of the works of the poet and became the accepted point of departure for criticism. The genuine Life vanished into an oblivion in which it remained for the greater part of two centuries, until, that is, Pierre Daniel of Orléans learned of the existence in Berne of the manuscript of the authentic Donatus now known as *Bernensis* 172 and regularly utilized as a part of our critical apparatus. This

⁸ *Donatus Auctus*, sect. 71, Diehl.

⁹ *De Instit. Div. Litt.* 1.

¹⁰ *Polycraticus*, Lib. v, prologue.

version of the Life was printed by Daniel in his edition of Vergil and the Commentary of Servius, Paris, 1600. Nevertheless the humanistic text was not dislodged from its traditional supremacy. The genuine Donatus was, of course, kept in the later editions of Daniel's work, and is to be found incorporated, with other material drawn from Daniel, in certain other editions.¹¹ However, in general, editors and critics did not transfer their homage to the authentic version. Even the Heyne-Wagner of 1830-1846, out of deference to the tradition, retains the interpolated Life, although many of its supplements to the original are exposed in the notes and are branded as the vagaries of mendacious grammarians and monks. The latter-day supremacy of the true version is due mainly to Reifferscheid's rehabilitation of it in his *Suetoni Reliquiae* in 1860. One cannot but sympathize with his disgust at the "mira socordia" ¹² which permitted the rank and file of editors through the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries to disseminate an apocryphal text, notwithstanding the fact that Daniel had rendered the text of the Berne Codex so easily accessible.

There is, however, one honorable exception. J. F. Gronov, 1611-1671, recognized the comparative values of the genuine and the vulgate texts. In a brief commentary, critical and exegetical, on the humanistic Life, Gronov spoke appreciatively of Daniel's text, and, repeating a view previously advanced by G. J. Voss, expressed the opinion that the shorter biography was founded on Suetonius, but interpolated by later scholars. In his notes Gronov points out various parallels to Suetonian usage and diction, a procedure which marked an important step in the progress of criticism. Reifferscheid, *ex silentio* at least, conveys the impression that Gronov's notes are found only in Burmann's great edition of Vergil, published at Amsterdam in 1746. A search through the Morgan Collection of Vergiliana in the Library of Princeton University taught

¹¹ E. g., *Opera ex bibl. P. Danielis*, Colon. Allobr. excud. Steph. Gamonetus; *Opera cum Servio Danielis*, Geneva, 1620; *Opera cum Comm. Servio P. Danielis*, Geneva, apud Petr. et Iac. Chouet, 1636; *Opera cum veterum omnium commentariis et seq. Inscripta V. Ampl. Gualtero Valkenier*, Ex. offic. Abr. Commelini, Lugd. Batav. 1646; *Vergilius Dan. Heinsii* 1636 repetitus ex offic. Elz. 1652; *Opera, cum notis . . . opera Corn. Schrevel*, apud Franc. Hackium, 1657, reprinted 1666.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 400.

me some years since that Burmann's edition was not the first to incorporate Gronov's commentary and thus tacitly to place the stamp of approval on his view as to the origin of the *Life* by Donatus and the superiority of Daniel's text. These notes had appeared over fifty years prior to the publication of Burmann's edition in the *Vergil* of Emmenassius, Amsterdam, 1680. They were afterwards reprinted in Maaswyck's editions, Leeuwarden, 1717, and Venice, 1736. Burmann treated Maaswyck to a shower of the vitriolic abuse characteristic of the scholarly amenities of those times, and accused him of having "pirated" Emmenassius and Schrevel. See Heyne-Wagner iv, 731. Nevertheless, Burmann so far approved of Maaswyck's insertion of Gronov's commentary as to follow his predecessor's example in this respect.

Though we may fairly censure the critics of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries for their neglect of the authentic version of the *Life* and condemn them for their failure to follow the path of criticism marked out by Gronov, it would be unjust to demand a high degree of scientific fastidiousness of the humanist students of Vergil. Critical biography, as we understand it, is a relatively recent phenomenon in literature. If we are going to insist that a biography be "the faithful portraiture of a soul in its adventure through life," we shall have to admit that no ancient and few modern biographies measure up to this ideal standard. For Petrarch and his age, "the world was so full of a number of things," the great worthies of antiquity so vividly incarnate, their wisdom so vocal with accents of reality, that the subtleties of biographical criticism seldom tempered acceptance of all that could be learned about the life of Vergil from ancient literary sources, or inferred therefrom. I have presented evidence elsewhere¹³ to show that Petrarch was not familiar with the *Life* by Donatus, but gleaned from the *Life* by Servius, the *Commentary* of Servius, the works of Horace, Macrobius, Jerome, and from the *Anthology* the most of what he tells about the life and personality of Vergil. Vergil's appeal to Petrarch was as an aesthetic mentor, a moral and philosophical guide. Petrarch's Vergil had indeed come to earth from that sphere in which Dante and the medieval man had placed him.

¹³ *The Sources and the Extent of Petrarch's Knowledge of the Life of Vergil*, *Class. Phil.* xii (1917), pp. 365-404.

Nevertheless, as de Nolhac has well observed,¹⁴ Petrarch narrowly escaped reading Vergil all his life without understanding him. The *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid* were to him the allegorical expressions of esoteric wisdom. An adequate conception of the essential features of Petrarch's attitude may be formed by reading the *Epistle to Vergil*¹⁵ and examining de Nolhac's reproduction¹⁶ of a specimen of the symbolism which the humanist saw in the *First Eclogue*.

It is quite in conformity with such methods of interpretation, inherited by him from centuries of allegorical exegesis, that he should carry the identification of Vergil with Tityrus in the *First Eclogue* to its furthest possibilities, and hence assume that Vergil became prematurely gray because of the *candidior barba* ascribed to the shepherd in the poem. However, it is noteworthy that, to make good this theory, he did not hesitate to dissent from the note of Servius on the passage. Generally, he pays unquestioning homage to the literary tradition. Thus, to mention an instance more typical of his attitude, he left to a later and more captious age the task of questioning the probability of the pretty story, accepted implicitly by him, which recounts how Cicero, moved to enthusiasm by a recitation of the *Sixth Eclogue*, hailed the author with the words, afterwards inserted in *Aeneid* XII, 168: "*magnae spes altera Romae.*" To the modern reader the chief beauty of this anecdote is, perhaps, the justice done by it to the Tullian egotism.

It has long been set down to the credit of Petrarch that he had divested his conception of Vergil of the legends still current in the fourteenth century concerning the doings of the Neapolitan Doctor Faustus. Vergil is the consummate poet, the venerated mystagogue, whose ideals of life, whose rise from low estate to intimate relationship with the great ones of his time, Petrarch never wearies of recounting. It is true, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹⁷ that in *De Remediis utriusque Fortunae* I, 32 Petrarch refers to one of the genre anecdotes of the Neapolitan cycle, according to which Vergil derided the passion of Marcellus for falconry. In its original form, this story contains an account of one of Vergil's achievements in the

¹⁴ P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, (Paris, 1907), I, 137.

¹⁵ Trans. by Cosenza, *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors*, Chicago, 1910, p. 136 f.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* I, 146.

¹⁷ *Class. Phil.* XII (1917), p. 402 f.

black art, viz. the invention of the famous bronze fly which was set up as a talisman to rid Naples of a plague of flies. This element of the legend does not appear in Petrarch's allusion, although he must have been familiar with the motive.

For the first formal, prose biography of Vergil that appeared after the beginning of the Renaissance, we must look to the fifteenth century. The author is Sicco Polenton, in whose work entitled *De Illustribus Viris Linguae Latinae* a pretentious life of Vergil was included. This work was issued in two editions; we know that Polenton was occupied with the third book of the first edition, the book which opened with the life of Vergil, in 1425. The second edition was finished in 1433. For this second edition, Polenton drew on the humanistic version of the Life by Donatus, which had become known to him in the eight years separating the two publications. Thanks to Sabbadini, the text of the life of Vergil contained in the second edition is now easily accessible.¹⁸

Polenton contrived to expand his biographical data, drawn mainly from Donatus and the Commentary of Servius, into a monograph of considerable length. This expansion is due partly to his amusing penchant for rhetorical amplification of the bald statements of the ancient Life. Thus, Donatus' record of the untoward nativity, in *subiecta fossa partu levata est*, prompts this interpretative flight: *nulla erat ibi casa, nullum tigurium, nullus idoneus magis locus, omnia caelo et terra patebant* (section 2). Digressions on history, geography, and on antiquities are also introduced,¹⁹ the fruits of wide reading. Nevertheless, Polenton was no slavish compiler; according to his lights, he reinforced, systematized, and criticized the data which he controlled. It was a naïf device, to be sure, to seek to reconcile the variant traditions as to the vocations of Vergil's father by making him first a potter, then a *mercennarius*. But the addition of their cognomina to the names of the consuls in office in the year of Vergil's death,²⁰ the concentration of the material pertaining to the subject of the poet's literary activities,²¹ the change

¹⁸ *Studi Ital. di filol. class.* xv (1907), pp. 214-34.

¹⁹ E. g. the account of the founding and the history of Mantua sect. 3-5; of the *toga virilis* sect. 6.

²⁰ The cognomina are given in the *Chronicon* of Jerome, also in the Life by Filargyrius. Cf. Polenton, sect. 22.

²¹ E. g. the story of the discomfiture of the poetaster Bathyllus is trans-

in the order of enumerating Vergil's legatees to an order based on relative importance²² are indicative of the possession of a quite modern respect for minutiae and a thoughtful regard for logical arrangement.

It was something for a man of that age to challenge in a historical detail the reliability of Servius and Donatus, as does Polenton in his effort to prove (sect. 13f.), that the confiscation of the Mantuan territory occurred after the Battle of Mutina and before Philippi. The spirit of his criticism commands respect, even though it is evident that his polemic is initiated by his firm determination to cling to the belief that Cicero had heard the *Sixth Eclogue* recited and had lauded its author. Assuming the historicity of this anecdote as his point of departure, our biographer becomes involved in the impossible hypotheses that this eclogue was the first in order of composition, and that Vergil was thirty-two years old at the time of the Battle of Philippi (sect. 14).²³

Quite in harmony with Polenton's independence of judgment is his rationalistic treatment of the popular legends about Vergil. In the last section of his biography, Polenton protests against the old wives' tales that have been narrated concerning the poet, and asserts that he has purposely excluded them. We have concrete proof of this creditable skepticism. I have previously remarked²⁴ that, in one instance, the interpolated version of the Life degrades Vergil from a properly dignified sphere. The atmosphere of this context, sections 8-18 Diehl, is more worthy of the Arabian Nights than of the serious biography of a poet; Vergil is made to comport himself like a mendicant rogue and soothsayer.

We read that Vergil, having come to Rome fresh from his studies of astrology and medicine in Naples, established himself as a hanger-on at the imperial stables and kennels. Here, by exercising the veterinary art and by revealing the pedigrees of the horses and the

posed from a position toward the end of the *Auctus* and combined with the account of the poems of the *Appendix*; see sect. 8-9.

²² Cf. *Auctus* 56, Diehl, where the order is, perhaps based on the size of the bequest: 1. his half-brother, 2. Augustus, 3. Maecenas, 4. Varius and Tucca; in Polenton the order is 2, 3, 4, 1; see sect. 26.

²³ We may recall that Petrarch asserts that Vergil was thirty-two when he wrote the *Eclogues*; see *Class. Phil.* XII (1917), p. 398-99.

²⁴ See page 4.

dogs, he acquired a fame as a sage that spread to the palace, and which resulted in his daily ration of bread being increased by the order of Augustus. In the next scene of this engaging story, Augustus, assailed by doubts as to his own paternity, bethinks himself of his omniscient groom. With the impudent assurance of a Villon, Vergil dubs Augustus the son of a baker, because, forsooth, to a palm itching for gold, only more loaves had been proffered. As we shall see, the attitude assumed toward this baroque passage is one of the touchstones by which to test the enlightenment of biographers of Vergil from the Renaissance down even to the seventeenth century. Hence Polenton's neglect of this episode speaks volumes for his critical sophistication.

Another index to the evolution of criticism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be found in the opinions expressed by editors and critics as to the authenticity of the Life by Donatus in the form in which it was known to them. In the Roman edition of 1469, the so-called *Editio Princeps*,²⁵ a *rara avis* of which we are so fortunate as to have a perfect specimen in the Morgan Collection in Princeton University Library, no life is found; this is also true of the early Aldine editions, viz. those dated 1501, 1514, and 1515.²⁶ However, the vast majority of the editions which in the closing years of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth follow thick and fast on one another, reprint the interpolated Life, and express no word of doubt as to its authorship or its reliability. It would be superfluous to specify examples in such a multitude; they may be counted by the dozen in the Morgan Collection or in any large assemblage of Vergiliana.

Of course, it would be perilous to infer from this frequent repetition of the text of the humanistic version that all editors regarded it as authoritative. As the Abbé Desfontaines judicially observes in his translation of Vergil, Paris, 1743, p. 449, the Life must appear somewhere, and, as a piece of ancient apparatus, finds its proper place at the beginning of a text of Vergil. Now, prior to the appearance of the early printed editions, there were critics who

²⁵ This is, at least, the first printed edition, the date of which is ascertainable; cf. W. A. Copinger, *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.* II (1894), pp. 131-32.

²⁶ The absence of the Life from many of the early editions is due to the fact that the text was, in so many instances, transmitted in the manuscripts of Servius; see Valmaggia, *Riv. di filol.* XIV (1886), p. 23.

looked askance at the credibility of the Life and doubted whether Donatus were the author. Among these were Politian and Lorenzo Valla, the latter of whom, in the year 1449, in his treatise entitled *De Reciprocatione*, called attention to the solecisms committed by the Life in the use of reflexive constructions, and asserted that its Latinity did not conform with that of Donatus. We detect the results of the leavening influence of this criticism in the caption of the Juntine printings of the years 1522 and 1537: P. V. M. Vita quae a Donato dicitur edita, cum tamen, ut Valla notavit, in reciprocationem quam saepissime peccet nec phrasim eius redoleat. Henri Estienne in his editions of 1583 and 1599 also designates the Life guardedly as ex Donato aut alio potiusquicunque est eius autor. Nevertheless, such monitory headings are exceptional in the sixteenth century editions.

The practical unanimity²⁷ with which the editors of this period conceived that the demand for a biographical sketch of Vergil was satisfied by reprinting the interpolated version, with or without reservations as to authorship, is occasionally varied. Some more exacting souls did not follow this line of least resistance, but adopted a more original procedure. The beginnings of this tendency—they are humble enough—are marked by the Belgian scholar, Josse Badius, surnamed Ascensius. Certain *praeambula* or *praenotamenta*, prefixed to an edition of Vergil issued at Paris in 1500, and frequently reprinted thereafter, display some faint glimmerings of selective and critical instinct. The frame of the prefatory biography is an epitome of the interpolated Life, which is, he says, in everybody's hands, although some have been reluctant to believe that its author is Donatus. Badius dissents from the notion, which forms one of the insertions in the humanistic text, that Vergil contemplated doubling the number of the books of the *Aeneid* and carrying the narrative down to the time of Augustus. Even latter-day criticism has dignified like surmises by alluding to

²⁷ Its length and its comparative wealth of detail naturally gave the *Donatus Auctus* preference over the *Vita Probi* and the Servian Life. The former is found in the Roman edition of 1471 and in the very rare edition published in 1472, without name of editor or place; see Copinger, *op. cit.* no. 14; Heyne-Wagner, iv, p. 645-646. The Servian Life seldom appears except in those editions of Vergil that include also the Commentary of Servius.

them.²⁸ The derivation of the name of the poet, a staple of discussion in old-time scholarship, is treated by Badius, and, following in the footsteps of Politian, he argues the question, *Vergilius* or *Virgilius*.²⁹ Lastly, he supports the interpolated Life in its defence of Vergil's moral character against an innuendo contained in the genuine version,³⁰ and insists that, in spite of the *Second Eclogue*, Vergil's purity is exemplified by the whole body of his poetry. The question of Vergil's *castitas* is a topos of Vergilian biography that has not entirely gone out of fashion in an age which is not entirely reluctant to legitimate eccentricities of the "artistic temperament."

Badius's contributions to criticism are not of great moment. Nevertheless, they are bubbles showing how the current is setting. His departure from the traditional practice of editors of Vergil apparently met with considerable approval, for his life of the poet had a vogue which endured down to the last of the sixteenth century. For example, it was retained in the reprints of Melanchthon's Vergil, which were issued at Zurich in 1561 and 1587.

A higher plane of criticism was attained by Sebastian Corrado, professor at Bologna, in a life of Vergil written about the middle of the century, and found, *inter alias*, in Henri Estienne's editions and in Taubmann's edition, Wittenberg, 1618. Asserting that the life ascribed to Donatus is full of falsehoods and improbabilities, and is the work of an ignorant man whose knowledge of Latin was defective, Corrado assures his readers that he proposes to give an accurate account of the life of Vergil and to correct the blunders that his predecessors have made. Although he by no means lives up to this high intent, his discussion reveals originality of attack and critical independence.

Betokening the rigorous standards of his scholarship is the fact that he takes exception to the looseness with which the interpolated Life uses the name Augustus in narrating events that occurred prior to the assumption by the Octavius of the honorific title. The tradition of Vergil's frustrated wish that the *Aeneid* be burned is

²⁸ See, e. g., Teuffel, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 6th ed. II, 34, n. 3; Rothstein, *El. Prop.* I, p. 367.

²⁹ On the history of this discussion see Francis W. Kelsey, *The New York Nation*, Sept. 5, 1907, 206.

³⁰ Libidinis in pueros pronioris, quorum maxime dilexit Cebetem et Alexandrum, quem secunda Bucolicorum egloga Alexim appellat, Diehl, sect. 9.

sharply assailed as an invention of grammarians who, with the connivance of Augustus, concocted the story in order to enhance the prestige of the epic. This significant departure from orthodox belief well illustrates a refreshing tendency to iconoclasm, which, in spite of the naïveté of some of his ideas, renders Corrado conspicuous among his contemporary critics of the sixteenth century and his successors in the early seventeenth. It is interesting to find so conservative a modern critic as Schanz returning unawares to Corrado's heresy, and suggesting that the whole story is an exaggeration of Vergil's testamentary direction to Varius and Tucca to publish nothing of his work posthumously.³¹ This is not the only instance in the long history of Vergilian study in which almost forgotten scholars have anticipated the niceties of us moderns.

Corrado, if not the first biographer to reject the story that Cicero was present at a recitation of the *Sixth Eclogue*,³² was certainly one of the first. In Bayle's great *Dictionnaire historique et critique* it is recorded that the famous Pierre de la Ramée (Ramus, *Latine*), was the pioneer in this sector of criticism. Ramée's life of Vergil was first published in his edition of the *Eclogues*, Paris, 1555. I have been unable to discover the date of Corrado's biographical sketch, but it is certainly anterior to 1556, the year of his death. I assume that it is prefixed to Corrado's commentary on the first book of the *Aeneid*, Florence, 1555, but, since I have never seen a copy of this rare work, the conjecture must await verification. At all events, it is clear that Corrado has a claim on at least a share of the honor which Bayle conferred on his own compatriot.

Since this paper, which attempts to mark only the milestones of progress, must rely on the principle of selection and cannot emulate the completeness of a bibliographical record, I should have passed over in silence Ramée's work in our field, were it not for the great rôle which he played in the political and intellectual history of his century.³³ Eulogized as the most eminent philosopher of his time and country, the founder of a system, named after him, which flourished long after he fell a victim at the massacre of St. Bar-

³¹ *Geschicht: der röm. Litt.* II, I, p. 68.

³² His proof depends on the false premise that it was twelve years after the orator's death that Vergil came to Rome and wrote the *Bucolics*.

³³ See Charles Waddington, *Ramus, sa vie, ses écrits, et ses opinions*, Paris, 1855.

tholomew to the rancor of his religious and professional foes; a true precursor of Descartes in enthronement of reason and in zeal for truth; a scholar whose learning covered so much of science and the humanities, he, strangely enough, does not rise above mediocrity as a biographer of Vergil. Ramée entitled his biographical sketch *Vita ex variis authoribus descripta*. As a matter of fact, while there is occasional insertion of testimonia drawn from authors, for the most part the language of the *Donatus Auctus* is closely followed and, what is more significant, the anecdotes related in it are reproduced and accepted with entire credulity. There is an occasional shift in the order of presentation. Thus, the story told in the next to the last section of the interpolated version to the effect that it was owing to Vergil's advice that Augustus decided not to relinquish the principate, is transferred in Ramée's account to a position immediately preceding the narrative of the fatal voyage to Greece (sect. 51, Diehl). What a contrast to the skepticism that impels Corrado to dismiss the story entirely! Surely Ramée saved his rationalism for his war on scholasticism and Aristotelianism.

Typical of the spirit that animated the biographers of Vergil in the sixteenth and throughout most of the seventeenth century is the apologetic tendency, already discernible, as I have said, in the humanistic version of the Life. As a man, Vergil must be painted, so far as is possible, as a Sir Galahad, one *sans reproche* in all relations of life. His personality must be refined from every particle of dross. It is amusing to see, for example, how the biographers were pained by the statement³⁴ that Vergil did not shine as an orator, his spoken word betraying unreadiness, not to say rusticity, and how they strove to palliate or to explain away this flaw in an otherwise perfect genius. In the opinion of Polenton (sect. 7), this defect was due to the fact that Vergil's natural bent was all for poetry. Ramée insists that modesty, not ignorance, was the cause. Robert and Antoine, Chevaliers d'Agneaux, in the life that accompanies their translation of Vergil's works, Paris, 1582, repeat Polenton's suggestion, and add that Vergil's physical infirmities in no whit affected his mental powers, a proof of his real greatness.

Rehabilitation and eulogy of Vergil the man were the natural concomitants of the idealization of his poetic accomplishments

³⁴ See *Donatus Auctus*, sect. 26-27, Diehl.

which, with only a few dissentient voices, dominates the critics of the whole neo-classical period. In the perennial discussion of the comparative merits of Vergil and those of Homer, Hesiod, and Theocritus, the Greek prototypes of his three chief genres, a debate which, beginning in antiquity, remained the *pièce de résistance* of authors of books on poetics, the palm was all but unanimously accorded in this era to the Roman bard. Castelvetro (1505-1571)⁸⁵ and an occasional Vergiliomastix sound, to be sure, a different note. But "Maronolatry," as some ingenious coiner of words has dubbed this fanatical worship of Vergil, was the gospel of poetic criticism. Enunciated by Marco Vida (1480-1546), it found in J. C. Scaliger its most stentorian evangelist. Such dicta as Scaliger's *Virgilius, poetarum rex*, and *Virgilius qui solus poetae nomine dignus est*, not only epitomize his view, but form the text for the great band of his successors in the seventeenth century.⁸⁶

Hence, it is no cause for wonder that biographers of Vergil kept step with the paeans that issued from the mouths of most of the critics of poetry. Thus, there came to be written lives which, like the countless medieval *vitae sanctorum*, and too many specimens of later biography, followed the method and were couched in the language of panegyric. They also reveal a moralizing and didactic aim, taking root in the thought that

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime.

Such productions are not so much biographies as they are "Mirrors of Vertue in Worldly Greatness." They are true creations of an age that had yet to learn that realism and fidelity of portraiture are desiderata of the ideal biography. Which is to say, of course, that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not the eighteenth,

⁸⁵ Castelvetro's point of view is well summarized by H. B. Charlton, *Castelvetro's Theory of Poetry*, Manchester, 1913.

⁸⁶ For the various protagonists of this phase of criticism, consult J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York and London, 1899; George Saintsbury, *A History of Criticism*, New York and London, 1902, vol. II; the curious reader can transport himself close to the theater of action by thumbing the pages of the erudite Baillet's *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, IV, pp. 99-118, ed. of 1722.

when, for English biography at least, Samuel Johnson and the excellent Boswell started biographical writing in the paths which it was afterwards to follow.³⁷

The life by the Chevaliers d'Agneaux, to which I have previously referred, and the topical *elogia*, which take the place of a formal life-sketch in the great edition of De la Cerda, Madrid, 1608-17, illustrate the extremes to which panegyric and edification might go.

The Messieurs d'Agneaux divide their disquisition into four parts, comprising life, literary activities, character, and authority. The exposition of the poet's *mores* is developed under such rubrics as temperance, patience, justice, and generosity. Under each of these heads are gathered the data which exemplify the moral quality in question. Although the authors were probably unaware, this is the scheme followed by Xenophon in the encomium of Cyrus, *Anabasis* I, 9 and in the *Agesilaus*. Harken to the words in which these honest gentlemen preach their homily: Vergil's humble origin shows the vanity of popular standards of judgment. Great virtues are not congenital, neither are they limited to the rich and those of high degree. They are the fruits of vigilance and toil. So from Vergil's life we may learn a short cut to perfection.

De la Cerda approaches the question of a life of Vergil in the spirit of an innovator. Lives of Vergil are numerous; hence, instead of adding another to the number, he will undertake what we may define as a topical appreciation of his author. Under different heads, *elogia*, are set forth Vergil's qualities as poet and man, and invariably in a laudatory vein. It is disappointing to find in an edition of Vergil which possesses elements of permanent value so uncritical a disposition of a prefatory biography. I must single out for attention here one feature which will serve admirably to remind us how little many men of the time had advanced beyond intellectual childhood.

De la Cerda narrates the prodigies that attended the birth of Vergil, to wit, the mother's dream of the flowering laurel tree, the swarming of the bees on the child's lips,³⁸ the miraculous growth

³⁷ On the development of English biography see W. H. Dunn, *English Biography*, London and New York, 1916.

³⁸ Added by the metrical life of Focas, line 21 f., to the other prodigies related in the Life by Donatus.

of the poplar twig thrust into the ground where the child first saw the light, and the tearless countenance of the babe. None of these wonders taxes our critic's powers of belief except the last,³⁹ as phrased in his own words: "Natus puer non plorat, quod vel ipsis regibus familiare." That a poplar shoot should wax with a celerity rivaling the growth of Jack's bean-stalk was not *hors de nature* in the land of miracles; that a new-born baby should refuse to wail, transcended the *Ultima Thule* of credulity. The stories about the *laureus ramus* and the *virga populea*, because of their assumed etymological connection with the name of the poet, maintain their place in the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until the slowly advancing tide of rationalism begins to undermine the acceptance of such apocrypha.

"In the age of Louis Quatorze," says Diderot, "there were already men who were our contemporaries."⁴⁰ Applied to the study of Vergilian biography, that utterance has a peculiar pertinency. The work of Charles de la Rue, S. J., whose edition of Vergil, Paris, 1675, is one of the most meritorious achievements of the Delphin Classics, inaugurates a new era in our field. It would be strange indeed if, at a time when Descartes had done his work, and in a milieu in which Bossuet was revealing a philosophy of history, Richard Simon was founding modern biblical exegesis, Bayle was scattering broadcast the seeds of skepticism, and the Academy of Sciences was coming into being, there should not emerge some biographer of Vergil responsive to contemporary impulses. The Jesuit Ruæus was this chosen vessel.

De la Rue tells us that the ancient *Life*, falsely ascribed to Donatus, so abounds in errors that it should not be published without criticism. Hence, he appends to the text of the *Life* a chronological outline of the events of the poet's career as well as of the history of his times, organized in annalistic fashion under the names of the consuls. Such a rigorous scheme, favoring facts and not fancies, has no room for the encomiastic and the legendary in which previous critics had reveled. Thus, in dealing with such questions as the vocation and the social position of Vergil's father,

³⁹ The first three, he says, are credited by biographers and learned men generally, and have never been rejected.

⁴⁰ Art. *Encyclopédie* in the *Dict. Encyc. Oeuvres*, Paris, 1821, p. 257.

where certain decision is impossible, de la Rue contents himself merely with citing the variant traditions. Twentieth century biographers have not always been so wisely conservative. One of the errors of which de la Rue purged the biographical tradition for all time, is the chronological inconsistency involved in the statement in the *Life* that Vergil assumed the *toga virilis* in his seventeenth year in the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Against the absurdities of the traditional account of Vergil's introduction to Octavius, de la Rue indulges in a well considered polemic, in which he scouts the notion that the ruler of the Roman world would have made a confidant of a veterinary, and brands the gibe at Octavius's paternity as a revamping of the sneers of Antony and Cassius of Parma (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 4), as indeed it is. Diehl, p. 17, comments on the inaccuracy of the report contained in the *Life* (*Donatus Auctus* 42), which represents Octavius as having heard the *Georgics* read in the course of a sojourn at Atella after the victory at Actium. In this point de la Rue anticipates the objection of the modern critic. He also rejects the story that Vergil's advice was the decisive factor in the supposititious discussion as to the propriety of ending the principate.

Space does not permit a complete summary of the contributions made by de la Rue toward the formation of scientific Vergilian biography. Suffice it to say that his *Historia Virgilii* became a classic and was reproduced in many editions issued in England and on the Continent. A century later, Heyne followed in many details de la Rue's exposures of the interpolated version of the *Life* and published a new chronological outline after the model of his predecessor's but, of course, enriched by the results of another hundred years of Vergilian research. Indebtedness to de la Rue is visible in most of the biographical sketches of Vergil composed in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth. All which reveal progress in criticism achieve this advance along the lines which he marked out.

Thus, dependence on de la Rue is everywhere apparent in the life found in an edition of the "*Bucolicks*," published by John Martyn, Professor of Botany at Cambridge, and dated London, 1749. This life is perhaps the best treatment of the subject in the eighteenth century anterior to Heyne, and is often referred to by him. The fullness with which it sets forth the history of the times

of Vergil is a direct consequence of de la Rue's methods. Martyn, while often elaborating the views of the French scholar, seldom dissents from them. However, he accepts the statement in the interpolated Life (sect. 7), according to which Vergil studied at Naples before he went to Rome.⁴¹ This is a point over which de la Rue passed in silence. Martyn scoffs as wholeheartedly as did his predecessor at the anecdotal and legendary ingredients of the *Donatus Auctus*, and reconstructs the life of Vergil, so far as is possible, from the *Chronicon* and the *Eclogues*. Martyn's extension of the period of the composition of the *Eclogues* from the triennium mentioned in the Life to a space extending from 45 B. C. to 37, was a radical departure from de la Rue. Many modern critics⁴² have rejected the tradition that Vergil wrote the *Eclogues* in three years; indeed, the sacrosanctity of the triennium, as well as of the seven- and the eleven-year periods assigned by the ancient Life to the composition of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* respectively, has been assailed as resting on mere arithmetical juggling.⁴³ Furthermore, Martyn's belief that the *Second* or *Alexis Eclogue* is the earliest of the ten, is now the crystallized opinion. But most of us would, with Heyne (see I, p. cx, 4th ed.), balk at the hypothesis that forms Martyn's point of departure in his chronological arrangement of the *Eclogues*, namely, the assumption that Vergil through the *Second Eclogue* became known to Julius Caesar.

The movement of criticism after de la Rue, it is almost superfluous to remark, was not uninterruptedly forward. This is never the law of thought in any age or on any subject. The human element invariably intrudes itself. In the introduction to *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* Carlyle wrote: "Histories are as perfect as the historian is wise and is gifted with an eye and soul!" This truism is quite as effective if we substitute for "histories" and "historians," biographies and biographers. It is singularly difficult, if not impossible, to secure complete objectivity in biographical writing; it has always been and always will be easy for biographers to cast the shadow of their own personalities and predilections over the subject of the life-story which they pen. Hence, the appearance

⁴¹ According to the genuine *Donatus*, he went from Cremona to Milan, then *paulo post* to Rome; see Diehl, sect. 7.

⁴² See Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* II, 1, p. 50.

⁴³ Thus Vollmer, *R. M.* LXI (1906), p. 489.

of the *Historia Virgilii* did not ring the knell of biographies of the poet which, negligible as contributions, are engaging as literary spectacles and intellectual phenomena. The same year, 1697, marks the publication of two biographies, mention of which is owed to the reader's sense of humor. I refer to the sketch of Vergil contained in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, and to the chapters on the life and the character of the poet prefixed to Dryden's translation.

At the first glance at Bayle's article, one seems to be confronted with the proverbial "slender rivulet of text running through an arid desert of notes." The truth is far otherwise. For here, as everywhere in these tomes, the notes are the real oases where the reader is glad to linger, not for what he learns about Vergil, but for what he learns about Bayle. The reputation of the *Dictionnaire* has long since been made as a repository rich in matter ill adapted *virginibus puerisque*. In a sentence occurring in the preface and made famous by generations of critics, Bayle excuses the presence of these "rogueries," as the tolerant Pepys might have called them, on the ground that only so could a sale of the work *inter tunicatos* be assured. This is the background against which Bayle's portrait of Vergil must be viewed in order to be appreciated. A large portion of the notes is devoted to whitewashing Vergil's morals, the chief plea being the venerable "*lasciva est nobis pagina, vita probast*," buttressed by modern analogy and example. It would be as unfair, Bayle opines, to reconstruct Vergil's character on the basis of the *Bucolics* and the *Priapea* sometimes accredited to him, as to assume that the French romances written by women are autobiographical. (Some of these fair authoresses, our cynic concedes, were no better than they ought to have been.) I must leave to students of French Literature the task of determining whether, in this context, Bayle was saying one word for Vergil and two for himself. It is certainly the case that this pronouncement of divorce between the art and the personality of an individual was one of the tenets of his creed of criticism.⁴⁴ In his application of this principle in Vergil's defence, he is, as we shall see, an anti-thesis to later biographical tendencies.

The introductory chapters on Vergil's life and character in

⁴⁴ For a treatment of this point and apposite references see H. E. Smith, *The Literary Criticism of Pierre Bayle*, Albany, 1912.

Dryden's translation, which were ascribed by Martyn and others to the translator himself, more recent critics have labeled as the work of Dr. Knightly Chetwood, Dean of Gloucester, called by Dryden a "learned and every way excellent" man. Though written with quaint charm of style, this biographical sketch is a veritable curiosity, full of conscienceless inference, and an extraordinary mixture of credulity and skepticism, as the following gems will show: Vergil was not born in 70 in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, but at an earlier date. In his dearth of certain knowledge, the ancient biographer pitched upon the two most eminent consuls he could discover who were in office at about the requisite period. Vergil's maternal grandfather, Magus, was a wandering astrologer; hence, his assistant, Vergil's father, was doubtless a Greek or a Syrian, as many men of that profession were. The poet went to Naples, because of the insalubrity of his native air, to recuperate his health, undermined by too stern application to study, or—as if, forsooth, he were a young English lordling, bound on the grand tour—to improve himself by travel! The prodigies attending the poet's birth are rejected as inventions fashioned after Herodotus, a sapient enough observation. On the other hand, credence is extended to Vergil's prowess as an astrologer, and to those exploits in the stables that brought about the interview with Octavius, in the course of which, our critic suggests, Vergil probably foretold future sovereignty to his patron. He censures de la Rue for rejecting the historicity of the story that it was owing to Vergil's advice that Octavius did not relinquish the principate. The "disjointed fashion" of the "Ninth Pastoral," seemingly made up out of the fragments of other pieces, reflects the poet's disordered mental state, consequent on his narrow escape from death at the hands of the centurion "squatter" on the estate at Mantua.

Dr. Chetwood may have deserved the second of the two attributes applied to him by Dryden; he has little claim on the first. Still, the fame of his biography of Vergil crossed the Channel. Fifty years later we find Abbé Pierre-François Desfontaines commending it as containing a store of curious research and excellent reflections, and publishing a French translation of it; see vol. iv, p. 477, *Les oeuvres de Virgile traduites en français*, Paris, 1743. The praise of the Abbé, whose niche in the hall of fame has been made secure at least by his logomachy with Voltaire and the famous witticism

of Comte d'Argenson⁴⁵ at his expense, loses in authority when one sees how he lives up to his expressed conviction that it is the duty of a translator to compose an original life, embracing only certain features of the ancient biography and confining itself to indubitable facts. He keeps this virtuous resolution by translating with great fidelity those portions of de la Rue's *Historia* that relate directly to Vergil, and by breaking the monotony of his source's dry narrative with certain moralizings of his own. Where de la Rue's outline is exhausted, recourse is had to certain anecdotes of the ancient Life which are narrated with perfect ingenuousness. Desfontaines once refers to de la Rue, but the unwary reader would not guess the real bond between the two.

It is comprehensible why, for the most part, critics subsequent to de la Rue should have been unwilling to imitate the severity of his annalistic scheme and confine themselves to setting forth the bare externalities of Vergil's career. De la Rue's step away from tradition did not result in an ideal biography; it was simply the ideal corrective of tendencies and errors which had long been prevalent. As Samuel Johnson asserted in the eighteenth century,⁴⁶ and Sir Sidney Lee has reiterated in the present century,⁴⁷ biography should not be chronological conspectus, the actor must not be lost in a too elaborate setting. In Napoleon's words to the Irish physician O'Meara: "People are anxious to know the most trifling circumstance in the life of a man who has played a great part." We may say "legitimately anxious," with the reservation that this eagerness should not approach the temper of Paul Prys or Peeping Toms. Hence, remembering how long and how completely the figure of Vergil had been dominant in the world of learning and letters, we cannot wonder that people would not be content with knowing who the poet was, what he wrote, when and where, but persisted in interesting themselves in discovering what manner of man he was.

Unfortunately for verity, the rhapsodical and sentimental proclivities which had obsessed previous centuries, died hard. To be

⁴⁵ Reproached by the Comte for his bitterness in polemic and criticism, he remonstrated: "Monseigneur, il faut bien que je vive."

"Mais, je n'en vois pas la nécessité," was the retort.

⁴⁶ *The Rambler*, no. 60.

⁴⁷ *Principles of Biography*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 26f.

sure, Baillet was "tough-minded" enough to confess: ⁴⁸ "L'histoire nous apprend qu'il avoit vécu dans quelques déreglements, et qu'il avoit entretenu de méchantes habitudes." Chetwood tempered his praise with some sophistication. He warmly defends Vergil from the charge of moral perversion; still he will have it that the poet "was certainly of a very amorous disposition . . . but conquered his natural inclination by the help of philosophy." The assertion is also made that poor Vergil, "bashful to a fault," was no favorite with the sex, and took his revenge by portraying in his poems "hardly the character of one good woman." Even "the fair Lavinia is disobedient to the oracle and to the king, and looks a little flickering after Turnus."

The most that can be said for these crudities is to remark upon their fidelity to Dryden's England. We are not to infer from them that, as yet, a permanent change had come over the spirit of the critics' dreams.⁴⁹ A change is to come, but not until the age of Byron, Walter Scott, and Goethe, when vistas hitherto unsuspected in criticism began to reveal themselves, new depths in literature and life to be sounded.

The advent of this new temper is promptly and unmistakably registered in Chateaubriand's appreciation of Vergil, found in the *Génie du Christianisme*.⁵⁰ With a completeness quite unprecedented, Chateaubriand postulates causative relationship between poet and poetry, finds in Vergil's life and temperament the explanation of the regnant element of his work, its pensiveness. Vergilian melancholy, was, I believe, Chateaubriand's discovery, that "tristesse" which Sainte-Beuve and Patin⁵¹ have made a phrase in Vergilian criticism. It would lead me far afield were I to say all that I should like to say on this subject. Let him who will discover plaintiveness as the *Leitmotiv* of the *Aeneid*, if he hear it with his own ears; let him not discern it, as I suspect has been often done, merely under the spell of the convention. We must not accord to Chateaubriand's dictum an absolute value, but must make

⁴⁸ *Jugemens des savans*, iv, p. 92, ed. of 1722.

⁴⁹ The comparatively enlightened Martyn felt called upon to take issue with this censure of Vergil; see the introduction to his edition of the *Georgics*, London, 1741.

⁵⁰ Part I, Book v, chap. 14; Part II, Book II, chap. 10.

⁵¹ *Euripide*, I, p. 395.

due allowance for the bias that inevitably colored his view. Theophile Gautier called Chateaubriand "the inventor of modern melancholy."⁵² Certain it is that he was melancholy's ardent devotee who quivered under his self-inflicted flagellations with the pious joy peculiar to the Propertiuses and the Sentimental Tommies of all times. How could he fail to make Vergil one of his own kind?

Naturally, Chateaubriand seized with avidity on those vicissitudes of Vergil's life, those attributes of personality that might have inspired the minor key, audible, we are told, especially in the last six books of the *Aeneid*, written, as Chateaubriand assumes, when the poet was approaching the tomb. The expulsion of Vergil from his home kept the iron for all time in his soul. He cultivated this germ of sadness by living alone in the midst of woods. Who can doubt that, when Chateaubriand penned these words, the substance of which I have given, he saw not only Vergil, expatriated from the Mantuan "cabane," but also himself, a frightened child, cowering in the lonely tower on the Breton coast? Chateaubriand welcomes as agencies which directly controlled the bent of Vergil's genius such defects as physical weakness, rustic appearance, and an impediment in his speech—for it was thus, as Sainte-Beuve afterwards pointed out, that Chateaubriand erroneously interpreted the passage in the *Life* already referred to as a *crux* for earlier critics. As to a suggested morbid and degenerate side of Vergil's character, which generations of biographers had been loath to admit, we may easily guess what the author of *René* would be willing to believe in and to sympathize with. I doubt whether in the long line of literary portraits of Vergil, any one so perfectly reflects its delineator as does Chateaubriand's.

In the fifty years that separate Chateaubriand's appreciation and Sainte-Beuve's classic *Étude sur Virgile*, the conception that a work of art is the expression of the artist's self, had become firmly established. In the interpretation of a piece of literature, cognizance was taken not only of the personality that produced it, but also of the environment in which that personality had its being. Thus, we find echoes in the *Étude* of the testimony of traveled critics, who spoke of the fogs and the damps of the Mantuan marshes, of a sky, often overcast, which imparted to Vergil's poetry its own subdued tint.

Sainte-Beuve warns against exaggerating the effect of such influences, but sees in Vergil's work a plaintive, dreamy quality which betokens a nature alive to the charm of a reposeful country landscape.

Sainte-Beuve's life of Vergil is confessedly a *biographie idéale*, in the composition of which stress was laid only on those traits of character and personality, recounted in the ancient *Life*, that harmonize with what a study of the poems can teach as to the poet's soul and the essential quality of his genius. In Chateaubriand we saw the precursor of the method which Sainte-Beuve develops with a finesse, mostly his own, but partly inherent in his times. Sainte-Beuve's Vergil is Chateaubriand's Vergil modified and limned in pastel shades. The contrast is subtle, but none the less real. Where the victim of *mal de siècle* read into Vergil's poetry the protests of a wounded self-love, uttered by an organism atypic physically and abnormal emotionally, Sainte-Beuve heard only the sighs of a sensitive and gentle soul. The view that Vergil's wrongs at the hands of the ruthless centurion left him permanently "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," is retained, and even emphasized. Sainte-Beuve's authority imparted to this theory a standing which is attested by our English hand-books down to the second edition of Glover. Until recent years, the orthodox but somewhat paradoxical procedure for critics and editors has involved extending the effects of Vergil's sense of outrage over his whole career, and also assuming, on the basis of autobiographical exegesis of the *First Eclogue*, that the farm was finally restored to its original owner. Now that the old allegorizing methods of interpretation have become archaic, all trustworthy evidence makes against the notion that Vergil ever regained possession of his Lares and Penates. Mr. Glover was in a position to strengthen the case of Vergilian melancholy by the time the second edition of his delightful book appeared.⁵³ The period lying between the dates of the two editions, 1904 to 1912, was prolific in work of prime importance for all who would seek to grasp "le vrai Virgile."

To an estimate of this work, we soon must turn. First, however, let us recall that between 1855, the date of Sainte-Beuve's *Étude*

⁵³ Vollmer disposed of the assumption that Vergil was ever reinstated on his farm in *SB. der Bay. Akad. Phil. Hist. Kl.* 1909, Abhand. 9, p. 6.

sur Virgile and the twentieth century, an essential preliminary to sounder criticism had been realized. The interpolated version of the Life had been placed on the Index Expurgatorius of scholarship. Hence, Ribbeck and Nettleship, the critics whose work bulks largest in this period, did not have to expend time or ink in distinguishing the true in the interpolated Life from the false. Ribbeck's life of Vergil, which may be read most conveniently in the one volume Teubner edition of the *Opera*, is now valuable chiefly as an assemblage of material. His method labored under grave defects. What he gives is a kind of biographical mosaic, in which he seeks to fit, in one harmonious whole, the frequently conflicting stories found in the various sources. A typical example is furnished by his account of Vergil's perilous encounters with the usurpers who had settled in and about the Mantuan homestead. In the sources, the names of the rufflers who resorted to violence, as the story goes, to keep the poet from his rights, are given as Clodius or Claudius, Arrius, and Milienus Toro. Ribbeck finds a place for all of these in his narrative of the expatriation. It did not occur to this great editor that the tradition gives, not an account of separate acts of aggression, but a variously garbled version of one, the germ of which lies in the identification of the personalities and the experiences of Tityrus and Menalcas in the *First* and the *Ninth Eclogues* with those of the poet himself. Allegorizing and imagination were the handmaids of invention.

Nettleship, in his *Ancient Lives of Virgil*, London, 1879, also in his revision of Conington's *Vergil*,⁵⁴ commented on the futility of Ribbeck's procedure. Furthermore, Nettleship's suggestion that the *Ninth Eclogue* preceded the *First* and that, therefore, Vergil was only once ejected from his estate, is an enlightened criticism of the view, accepted generally before him, which assumes a double ejection. Nettleship was the true advance-guard of our latter-day rationalistic criticism of the ancient Life, as such exponents as Kroll,⁵⁵ and Vollmer⁵⁶ have freely confessed.

Lovers of Mark Twain—and who is not?—will doubtless recall the immortal conference between the racy Mr. Scotty Briggs of the

⁵⁴ *Eclogues and Georgics*, 5th ed. revised by Haverfield, pp. 114-115.

⁵⁵ *R. M.* LXIV (1909), p. 50f.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

committee on arrangements for Buck Fanshaw's funeral, and the urbane cleryman, man of kind heart and sesquipedalian verbiage. Neither understands the language of the other. Finally, the preacher, bewildered by his visitor's picturesque slang, begs him to "restrict himself to the categorical statements of fact, unencumbered with obstructing accumulations of metaphor and allegory." It was thus that from Servius down to the present century critics groped through the mist of allegory in their quest for the facts about Vergil's life. Ribbeck, though rejecting many of the absurdities of the ancient commentators, was still completely enough under their spell to see in the Alexis of the *Second Eclogue* Pollio's slave, Alexander. Nettleship insisted that in the *First Eclogue* Tityrus is a lightning-change artist, now Vergil, now a rustic libertus. This view is as old as Servius. It is especially in connection with the *First Eclogue* that the glamor of the old notions lingered longest. Now, thanks largely to a pioneer work of Leo,⁵⁷ by which other scholars have been guided, we have come to see how tenuous is the fabric of the Tityrus-Vergil theory. The *First Eclogue* is, to be sure, a picture of what was happening in Vergil's distressful country. It is a study in contrasts. The sorrows of the exiled peasant-farmer are depicted as a foil to the jubilations of the recipient of Octavius's clemency. Tityrus is not Vergil; at most, he may be the spokesman of the poet's gratitude,⁵⁸ or of his hope. For it is certainly unsafe to infer, as does Kroll,⁵⁹ that, because Tityrus in the poem regained his farm, Vergil also was reinstated. This is but a tempered application of the method of the ancient critic. Indeed, the *Eclogue*, far from being the expression of thanks for a *fait accompli*, may well be an appeal dictated by the woes of "misera Mantua" in general.⁶⁰ To me the lorn Meliboeus is the real hero, not the smugly satisfied Tityrus.

Of course, everybody knows that in the *Eclogues* Vergil, following the precedent of Theocritus in *Idyll Seven*, blended often the

⁵⁷ *Hermes* xxxviii (1903), pp. 1-18.

⁵⁸ So Leo in the article just referred to.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶⁰ Birt, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1910, p. 87, is, perhaps, the most out-spoken of the new school of critics against the old methods of interpretation: "Vergil schildert da wirkliche Hirten, er schildert nicht sich."

world of Arcady with the world of men; as in the cycloramic battle-painting of thirty years ago material objects were fused with painted canvas in one cunning perspective. Furthermore, ancient biographers and scholiasts had a reckless proclivity for imparting autobiographical value to those writings of an author that might seem to belong to the subjective category. Thus, in the Suetonian Life of Vergil and in the works of the commentators, goodly portions are reared on a substructure no firmer than inference drawn from the contents of those poems of the triad in which the poet shows, or seems to show, most of himself and his environment, that is the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. The scientific application of this axiomatic truth has been the contribution which the last fifteen years have made to the reconstruction of Vergil's biography.

We have, therefore, learned the necessity of caution in utilizing the data of the ancient Life. Until recently, historians and critics were not prone to ask themselves whether a given statement in the Life might be the result of exegesis from the poems. The pen of the modern biographer went merrily over his page if the words of Donatus were humanly possible, inherently probable, traceable to a source not far removed from Vergil's time, and especially when they could be brought into connection with a passage in the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics*. It is precisely here, where it has been thoughtlessly assumed that there are two independent sources, mutually corroborative, that pitfalls lie. In such cases, we may have one source only—the poems. What the Life contains, is merely, in the final analysis, the fruit of inference based on the poems. Let me venture to cite two illustrations.

In the first five lines of the *Sixth Eclogue*, written at the close of the forties, critics have wellnigh universally seen the first premonitions of Vergil's ambitions to write the Roman epic. It is tempting to believe that, in the prime of his young manhood, many years before *arma virumque cano* fell on the ears of an expectant world, Vergil cherished a plan of epic composition, which, temporarily abandoned after a false start, was again taken up—witness lines 1-48 of the *Third Georgic*—and finally bodied forth in modified form in the *Aeneid*. This attractive theory of an epic evolution is not *a priori* impossible. At any rate, this is not the place in which to consider the skepticism of Jahn,⁶¹ who regards the passage

⁶¹ *Ber. Phil. Woch.* 1910, 744f.

in the *Eclogue* as a conventional *recusatio* and not the record of a serious poetic attempt, or the attitude of Leo,⁶² who suggested that doubts were in order as to whether Vergil actually cherished the plan of treating the deeds of Augustus in an epic, the proemium of the *Third Georgic* to the contrary notwithstanding. I am merely concerned with chronicling the unanimity with which, until the last decade and a half, the sentence *mox cum res Romanas inchoasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit*, *Vit. Donat.* 19 Diehl, has been quoted as separate testimony, confirmatory of the allusion in the *Eclogue*.⁶³ The sole critical value of the sentence amounts to this: It shows how the ancient biographer or his source understood those much discussed lines of the poem.

Again: we read in the *Life* (Sect. 1, Diehl) that Vergil's father increased his substance by keeping bees. Hence, critics have been moved, to quote Mr. Glover,⁶⁴ to the "pleasant reflection," that many details furnished by the experience of boyhood are woven into the *Fourth Georgic*. Perhaps—although Vergil in many a passage found it necessary to put his Aristotle and his Varro into poetry. Fixation of cause and effect is not so simple a matter. There is the disturbing thought to reckon with that the ancient biographer made Vergil's father a bee-keeper because of the content of the *Georgic*. It is the part of a wise conservatism not to base conclusions upon passages in the *Life* the nature of which is such that they could originate in inference and happy guesses. The burden of proof has now shifted to the shoulders of those critics who would implicitly accept them.

Along with our newly acquired intelligence in using the ancient lives and the biographical details found in the commentators, another factor has largely contributed to a saner portraiture of Vergil, namely, the higher criticism of the *Appendix Vergiliana*. Never in the annals of Vergilian scholarship has the study of the *Minor Poems* usurped a place so commanding as that which it has maintained since the publication in 1901 of Franz Skutsch's booklet entitled *Aus Vergils Frühzeit. Ciris, Culex, and Catalepton* have

⁶² *Die römische Literatur des Altertums*, in *Kult. der Gegenwart*, 3d ed. 1912, p. 44.

⁶³ For typical instances see Haverfield's revision of the Conington-Nettleship *Vergil*, I, p. 74; T. R. Glover, *Virgil*, p. 78.

⁶⁴ *Virgil*, p. 14.

become names for students of Vergil in all countries to conjure with. Since the appearance in 1910, of Birt's remarkable book, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils*, the first commentary on *Catalepton* worthy of the name, these little poems have come into their rights as a preferred source of knowledge for Vergil's life. The writer of the Suetonian Life did not use this collection of poems; hence in relation to the Life they have, unlike the *Eclogues*, the authority of a separate source. As the years go by, the credentials presented by *Culex*, *Ciris*, and *Catalepton*⁶⁵ to hold the place assigned to them by external evidence as genuine works of Vergil, seem more and more indubitable.

The study of the poems of the *Appendix* has necessarily precipitated discussion of cognate biographical and chronological questions. From it all there has been born a new Vergil. Vergil has ceased to be, as through previous centuries he has tended to be regarded, the creator merely of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. We have come to see that the Vergil whom the world has known best, the authorized mouthpiece of economic reform and religious revival, the champion of the divine right of the Julii, the prophet of the high mission of the Roman state, is the poet in the last stages of his development. One who aspires really to know Vergil must not isolate the poet of the Second Triumvirate and the First Principate, the bard of the *grand monde*. He must form a composite in which will figure the Vergil of North Italy, a youth responsive to the dominant literary and philosophical influences of the late fifties and the early forties; that is to say, Lucretianism and Alexandrinism; a Vergil who, like many another tiro in poetry, tried his prentice hand at parody and skit, wrote rakish verses of which he may have been afterwards ashamed—a new Vergil and a more human Vergil.

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⁶⁵ Compare the views expressed on these questions by two American scholars in recent articles: Frank, *Vergil's Apprenticeship*, *Class. Phil.* xv (1920), 23-38; 103-119; 230-244; Rand, *Young Virgil's Poetry*, *Harvard Studies*, xxx (1919), 103-185.

THE REVELATION OF AENEAS'S MISSION

BY GEORGE HOWE

The mission of Aeneas to carry his household gods to Latium and to build a city "whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba, and the walls of lofty Rome"¹ is the central thread binding together the several parts of the *Aeneid*. The critical literature has of course recognized its supreme importance to a proper understanding of the poem, and has discussed it from almost every possible point of view. It has raised, and sought to answer, questions of the character of the mission, of its bearing on the portrayal of the hero, of its success or failure in supplying an adequate principle of unity, of its artistic merit, of its source, and of parallels in other narrative poems. But, despite the attention it has received and the mass of discussion it has given rise to, one phase of the matter has been passed over with but scant notice—namely, the poet's method of revealing the mission to the hero himself.

For it is a thing that had to be revealed to Aeneas. It did not spring from his own impulses, his ambitions, his nature. The impelling force driving him relentlessly on to his destiny was not within the man, but was exercised upon him from without. His will came into play only in his loyalty to the principle of obedience, in holding true to the accomplishment of the divine purpose in the face of the extreme perils of sea and love and war. He was a man of destiny, but rather in the sense of a perfect instrument than of a molder of destiny. The poet, so conceiving him, is under the necessity of unfolding the plan of fate not only to the reader, but also to the hero himself.

To make it known to the reader was a comparatively simple matter. The poet announces it directly in the opening sentence, and he reminds us of it frequently all through the poem by statement or comment on the action. He informs us of it through the mouth of Aeneas himself and in the dialogues of the gods who direct the decrees of fate. Indeed the entire action of the main story is an elaborate exposition of it.

But it was a much more difficult matter to make clear Aeneas's

¹ Translation here and throughout is by Fairclough in the Loeb Library.

position in relation to the mission. Two points were involved: first, that at the outset Aeneas was wholly ignorant of the task set for him to perform; and second, that he needed constant guidance and instruction in his duty. Direct statement to the reader of Aeneas's initial total lack of purpose would inevitably have robbed the hero of the sympathy and interest which were his due. A hero so conceived was difficult enough in the first instance to make appealing, without explicitly informing us besides that we were to look forward to the biography of a human automaton. Virgil solved the problem in the wisest possible way: he said nothing whatever about it either by way of explanation of the situation or of comment upon it; he leaves it to us to learn indirectly from the action, if we must learn it at all. In the same way he avoids all direct statement on the second point. He simply supplies for Aeneas in the course of his movements the necessary guidance and instruction. This he does with supreme skill, with fine feeling, and by a highly interesting and dramatic method of exposition.

When we first meet Aeneas in the first book of the poem, we find him already fully informed of the work he is to do. Two passages will suffice for evidence of this. In the speech to his followers designed to alleviate the grief over the loss of their comrades in the storm and delivered immediately after the landing in Africa, he says: "Through divers mishaps, through many perilous chances, we fare towards Latium, where the fates point out a home of rest. There 'tis granted Troy's realm to rise again; endure and keep yourselves for happiness" (I, 204-207). And again in answer to a question of Venus appearing to him in the guise of a huntress, he says: "I am Aeneas the good, who carry with me in my fleet my household gods, snatched from the foe; my fame is known in the heavens above. Italy I seek, my country, and a race sprung from Jove most high. With twice ten ships I climbed the Phrygian sea, following the fates declared, my goddess-mother pointing me the way." (I, 378-382).

But when Aeneas spoke these words, he had already passed through the experiences from which he had learned the purposes of fate. What those experiences were is set forth in the second and third books, whose action of course chronologically precedes that of the first book, and it is in them that we are to look for the attitude of Aeneas towards his important work. Up to this point the poet

has been speaking in his own person, and, as already stated, while doing so he has wisely refrained from giving any explanation of his hero. But now the telling of the tale is transferred to Aeneas himself. The transference renews the danger, previously avoided, of alienating our sympathies, for here is a second temptation to enter into explanations. In the knowledge of what was to follow, it would have been a natural thing to have Aeneas preface his story to Dido with an ascription to the fates of the responsibility for his apparent aimlessness, in the hope that it might place him in a better light in Dido's eyes as well as in the reader's. It is not an assumption on our part that Virgil knew an explanation of some sort might be expected. His treatment of the relations of Dido and Aeneas in the fourth book, his evident sympathy with Dido's point of view, make it evident. Indeed the apology, if it may be called that, was inevitable, and is finally forced from Aeneas by the reproach of Dido. "Did the Fates suffer me," he says to her, "to shape my life after my own pleasure and order my sorrows at my own will, my first care should be the city of Troy and the sweet relics of my kin But now of great Italy has Grynean Apollo bidden me lay hold, of Italy the Lycian oracles Not of free will do I follow Italy!" (iv, 340 ff.). Another alternative open to Aeneas was to present himself as a more self-reliant man of a vast and noble vision, instead of a shuttlecock of the fates. And it is among the possibilities that Virgil might have saved his hero at this point from the chief criticism brought against him. But this alternative leads us into a region of new speculation, since its adoption would have resulted in quite a different poem from the Aeneid as it stands, shifting the emphasis from Aeneas the founder of Rome to Aeneas the man. We should have to assume, besides, ideas in Virgil's mind for which we have no warrant. As the poem is in fact, such an effort to modify the character of Aeneas would certainly have involved the poet in a chain of grave inconsistencies in his portrayal. But the mistake is avoided again. Aeneas makes no comment on his attitude, but simply enters upon the narrative of what took place.

The first intimation that he had of some mission other than to die in defense of Troy came to him in a dream. After the incident of the wooden horse the ghost of Hector appeared to him and warned him to flee: "Oh, flee, goddess-born, and snatch thyself

from these flames. The foe holds our walls; Troy falls from her lofty height. All claims are paid to king and country; if Troy's towers could be saved by strength of hand, by mine, too, had they been saved. Troy commits to thee her holy things and household gods; take them to share thy fortunes: seek for them the city—the mighty city which, when thou hast wandered over the deep, thou shalt at last establish!" (II, 289-295).

Aeneas relates the incident but draws no inference of any sort from it. We are to understand that its significance at the moment passes him by almost entirely, and that only in retrospect did he see its meaning. Later he might recall that here was advice to flee, that he was to take with him, when he fled, the holy things and the household gods, and that somewhere sometime he was to establish a mighty city. But at the time it was advice too vague to act upon and little to his liking as a defender of his country. Certainly he indulges in no reflections, nor does he suit his immediate course of action to Hector's behests. Instead, he plunges forthwith again into the fray, where he fights so furiously and is so ready to die with the rest that he can justly exclaim: "O ashes of Ilium! O funeral flames of my kin! I call you to witness that in your doom I shunned not the Danaan weapons nor their answering blows, and had the fates willed my fall, I had earned it by my hand!" (II, 431-434).

A little later, after the death of Priam, the thought of flight recurs to his mind, not for such reasons as Hector had given, but in compliance with the suggestion of Venus that he hurry home and save his loved ones while there was yet time. "And now when I had reached the door of my father's house and the dear old home, my sire, whom it was my first longing to bear high into the hills, refused, since Troy was laid low, to prolong his days or suffer exile," (II, 634-637). His father urges him who is still young to flee. The omen of the flame about the head of Iulus is interpreted merely to point to flight. The only thought Aeneas seems to have is that of saving his family from the general destruction, not at all of himself as the bearer of the gods and the establisher of a mighty city. If Hector's words meant anything at all to him, they meant only that escape might be among the possibilities.

The second revelation of his mission he received from the ghost of Creusa. As they fled from the city, his wife had lagged behind

and been separated from the party. As soon as Aeneas became aware of it, he hurried back to search for her, and as he wandered about frantically calling her, her ghost met him in the way and addressed him in these words: "Long exile is thy lot, a vast stretch of sea must thou plough; and thou shalt come to the land Hesperia, where amid the rich fields of husbandmen the Lydian Tiber flows with gentle sweep. There in store for thee are happy days, kingship, and a royal wife" (II, 780-784).

This is much more definite than the prophecy of Hector. The land of his future is given a name and the very river within the land near which he shall build a city is mentioned. But again its significance for the moment passes Aeneas by. The only meaning of the incident for him is that Creusa lives no more and that he must go back to save those that are left by leading them away in flight. Like the previous incident, it took on other meaning later in the light of further revelations and experiences, until it finally assumed such importance in his mind that he repeats the very words of the prophecy, as he had those of Hector's, in his narrative to Dido. It is one thing to accept the truth of a thing foretold before the fulfilment, and quite another thing to accept it after the fulfilment.

This interpretation of the incident is borne out by what immediately follows. Aeneas tells us nothing of the effect upon himself of Creusa's words. He adds only that he hastened back to his comrades where he found a piteous throng gathered "ready for any lands whereto I will lead them oversea," took up his father, and sought the mountains. And there the book closes. The opening of the third book offers further confirmation. Aeneas resumes his narrative with these words: "After it pleased the gods above to overthrow the power of Asia and Priam's guiltless race, after proud Ilium fell, and all Neptune's Troy smokes from the ground, we are driven by heaven's auguries to seek distant scenes of exile in waste lands. Just under Antandros and the mountains of Phrygian Ida we build a fleet, uncertain whither the Fates lead or where it is granted to settle; and there we muster our men. Scarcely had the beginning of summer come when my father Anchises bade us spread sails to Fate, and then with tears I quit my native shores and harbours, and the plains where once was Troy. An exile, I fare forth upon the deep, with my comrades and son, and the great gods of the

Penates" (III, 1-12). He is merely an exile, trusting to the fates, with no knowledge whither he is to go or what he is to do. His sole purpose is flight from his destroyed country. Overseas he perforce must go, and somewhere build a settlement, but Hesperia and Tiber are forgotten, and there is no thought of that mighty city which shall bring order out of chaos and give laws to the world.

This indefiniteness on the part of Aeneas after he had been told more or less explicitly of what he had to look forward to has generally been regarded as a gross inconsistency in the poem. It has been used, as have other incidents of the revelation, as evidence of the unfinished state of the poem, and as a means of determining the order in which the books were written. The tradition tells us that Virgil first sketched the whole in prose and then wrote the several parts, not in their order of sequence, but as the mood dictated. Under this plan it is of course possible that he wrote the third book before he wrote the second, and afterwards failed to file away the inconsistencies that necessarily resulted from that procedure. The theory may very well be true, but as far as the particular matter under discussion is concerned it is not needed to explain the progress of Aeneas in learning of his divine appointment. As we proceed, we shall see that the revelations are cumulative, both in respect of the information conveyed and of the effect upon the man. Twice in the midst of the stirring events of the fall of Troy had he received intimations of his great future, first in words wholly vague and indefinite, and again in a prophecy which, though it employed definite names, could be translated into immediate action, just as he did translate it, by flight overseas to seek a place of exile. In both cases the revelations came not directly from divine agencies, but from the ghosts of departed comrades, and were delivered to him in the midst of circumstances which demanded his undivided attention to physical action. There is nothing inconsistent in the fact that he thought no more of them at the time, that he attached almost no significance to them, that he even forgot them until they were recalled to his mind by later confirmation of their truth. It is not unreasonable to hear him say, when at last he makes his escape from Ilium, that he is "driven by heaven's auguries to seek distant scenes of exile in waste lands uncertain whither the Fates lead or where it is granted us to settle."

The third book is the book of revelations. They come one after another in quick succession, cumulative in content and effect, and bringing with them in the end complete certainty and conviction in the mind of Aeneas. They are woven into the story with such skill that each seems but a necessary direction pointing the way to the next adventure. They neither obtrude themselves upon our notice nor do they interrupt the flow of the action. Yet all the time they are serving their purpose of transforming Aeneas from a single one of many warriors at Troy to a hero destined to lay the foundations for the mighty empire of the west. If we understand the book to be merely the filling in of the gap between the departure from Troy and the landing in Africa, or merely an example of the story of sea adventure popular ever since the *Odyssey*, we fail to grasp half the meaning of the book. If we should strike out the passages of revelation altogether, Aeneas would become, at least for the first half of the poem, a meaningless character.

Aeneas lands first in Thrace and builds a city, prepared to spend the rest of his days there. But one day in making ready for a sacrifice and while pulling up from the soil the javelins which had pierced the body of Polydorus and taken root, he hears a warning cry from underground: "Oh, flee the cruel land, flee the greedy shore!" (III, 44). This time Aeneas gives thought to the supernatural message, for he goes at once to consult his father and other leaders about it. They all agree to obey the warning to set sail again. It is merely an indication that they have not yet reached their place of exile. It gives no information.

Next they land at Delos. Aeneas this time does not take for granted that one place will do as well as another for the place of exile, nor does he postpone seeking guidance. He goes immediately to the temple and prays to Apollo: "Grant us, thou god of Thymbra, an enduring home; grant our weary band walls, and a race, and a city that shall abide; preserve Troy's second fortress, the remnant left by the Greeks and pitiless Achilles! Whom should we follow? Whither dost thou bid us go? Where fix our home?" (III, 84-88). Something of the prophecy of Hector may be in the hero's mind as he speaks of a city that shall abide, a second fortress, but the words do not require such an interpretation. He is but praying for a place of safety for his followers. But Apollo's reply

starts a new train of thought: "Ye long-suffering sons of Dardanus, the land which bare you first from your parent stock shall welcome you back to her fruitful bosom. Seek out your ancient mother. There the house of Aeneas shall lord it over all lands, even his children's children and their race that shall be born of them" (III, 94-98).

Here at last was a prophecy direct from Apollo himself, and one of such nature as to fire one with ambition. "And mighty joy arose, mingled with tumult; all ask, what walls are those? Whither calls Phoebus the wanderers, bidding them return?" (III, 99-101). Anchises interprets the words to mean Crete. So they move on to Crete, build a city, and prepare to make it their permanent abiding-place. But there comes the terrible pestilence that warns them that they have not interpreted aright. Just as they are preparing to return to Delos for further consultation with Apollo, the Phrygian Penates appear to Aeneas in a dream and bring Apollo's answer:

Do thou prepare mighty walls for the mighty, nor shrink from the long toil of flight. Not these the shores the Delian Apollo counselled, not in Crete did he bid thee settle. A place there is, by Greeks named Hesperia, an ancient land, mighty in arms and in richness of the soil. There dwelt Oenotrians; now the rumor is that a younger race has called it from their leader's name Italy. This is our abiding home; hence our Dardanus sprung and father Iasius, from whom came our race. Come, arise, and with good cheer bear to thine aged parent these certain tidings, to seek Corythus and the lands of Ausonia. Jupiter denies thee the Dictæan fields (III 159-171).

One notes the change from mere warning and vague direction to definiteness and to explanation. The appointed land is Hesperia, as Creusa had called it; but it is further identified as Italy. And it is all but explicitly stated that the place of settlement is ordained of Jove. Emphasis falls once more upon the city that shall be built. It is further to be noted that Aeneas comes upon the information now no longer through chance only, but in response to his own seeking. He makes it his business to learn what course has been determined upon for him, he seeks guidance through prayer, he ponders the answers, he submits them to Anchises for interpretation. From now on he is thoroughly awake to the truth that the fates are leading him to some predestined abiding-place, not merely to an indefinite place of exile in waste lands. He does not yet realize fully the idea of a mission; he is intent only on reaching a

certain destination. Henceforth he takes advantage of every opportunity to question further prophet and seer in order that he may steer his course to Italy.

He sails on from Crete and comes to the islands where dwell the harpies. Here he learns from Calaeno how he is to know when he has arrived in the promised land.

Italy is the goal ye seek; wooing the winds, ye shall go to Italy and freely enter her harbours; but ye shall not girt with walls your promised city until dread hunger and the wrong of violence towards us force you to gnaw with your teeth and devour your very tables (III, 253-257).

Again Aeneas moves on, and makes his next stop at Actium. He spends a whole winter here, but has no thought of settling down permanently, as he had hoped to do in Thrace and in Crete. The warnings and oracles have had their effect upon him, and he is henceforth obedient to instructions. After celebrating games and making sacrifices he takes up his journey once more, and comes to Chaonia. Here in conversation with Helenus Aeneas tells in so many words what he now understands of his task: "With fair words hath Heaven declared to me all my journey, and all the gods in their oracles have counselled me to make for Italy and explore lands remote" (III, 362-364). Questions put to Helenus reveal his intentness on his goal, his now all-absorbing purpose to fulfil his appointed destiny.

And much he learns from Helenus. The detailed instructions he receives are the last important revelation, and leave him possessed of all he needs to know. For Helenus tells him:

First of all, the Italy which now thou deemest so near, and into whose neighbouring ports, unwitting one! thou dost essay entrance, a long trackless track with long land-reaches sunders widely. First in the Trinacrian wave must thou bend the oar, and traverse with thy ships the salt Ausonian main, past the nether lake and Aeaeon Circe's isle, ere thou mayest build thy city in a land of safety. Tokens will I declare to thee; do thou keep them stored in mind. When, in thy distress, by the waters of a secluded stream, thou shalt find a sow lying under the oaks on the shore, just delivered of a litter of thirty young, the mother reclining on the ground white—white, too, the young about her teats—there shall be the city's site, there a sure rest from thy toils. And dread not the gnawing of tables that awaits thee; the Fates will find a way, and Apollo be present at thy call. But these lands, and this nearest border of the Italian shore, that is washed by the tide of our own sea, avoid; in all towns dwell evil Greeks! But when, on parting thence, the wind has borne thee to the Sicilian coast, and the barriers of narrow Pelorus open out, make thou for the land on the

left and the seas on the left, long though the circuit be; shun the shores and waters on the right So at last thou shalt leave Trinacria behind and be sped triumphantly to the bounds of Italy. And when, thither borne, thou drawest near to the town of Cumae, the haunted lakes and Avernus with its rustling woods, thou shalt look on an inspired prophetess, who deep in a rocky cave sings the Fates and entrusts to leaves signs and symbols Here let no loss in delay be of such account in thine eyes that thou visit not the prophetess and with prayers plead that she herself chant the oracles, and graciously open her lips to speak. The nations of Italy, the wars to come, the mode whereby thou art to flee or face each toil, she will unfold to thee; and, reverently besought, she will grant thee a prosperous voyage. This it is whereof by my voice thou mayest be warned. Now go thy way, and by thy deeds exalt Troy in greatness unto heaven! (III, 381-462).

And later in bidding Anchises farewell Helenus adds: "Before thee is the land Ausonia! make sail and seize it! And yet past this shore thou must needs drift upon the sea; far away is that part of Ausonia which Apollo reveals" (III, 477-479).

This is the final revelation necessary to a full understanding on the part of Aeneas, with detailed instructions of how he may know the exact spot, with warning to stop at Cumae to consult the Sibyl concerning his further course of action, with comfort as to omens of disaster. Through it all the idea is made abundantly clear that his course had been predetermined for him and at every stage is being watched and directed by divine agencies. It is impossible for Aeneas to think of himself in a negative fashion as but an exile fleeing destruction; that he is singled out to do some positive thing of great moment is now unmistakable. A city is to be built, wars are to be waged, a new Troy is to be exalted to the heavens, hostile parts of the world are to be united. He is to be a founder of an empire. We may assume that Aeneas looks back over his past experiences and recalls the former prophecies. Their meaning, their consistent direction, their divine origin and purpose become clear to him in the end. That he now thoroughly understands his mission is made plain by his parting speech to Helenus:

Fare ye well, ye whose own destiny is already achieved; we are still summoned from fate to fate. Your rest is won. No ocean plains need ye plough, no ever-retreating Ausonian fields need ye seek. A copy of Xanthus ye see and a Troy, which your own hands have built under happier omens, I pray, and more beyond the range of Greeks. If ever I enter the Tiber and Tiber's neighbouring fields and look on the city-walls granted to my race, hereafter, of our sister cities and allied peoples, in Epirus, in Hesperia—who have the same Dardanus for ancestor and the same disastrous story—

of these twain we shall make one Troy in spirit. May that change await our children's children! (III, 493-505).

Such is the narrative of the revelation of his mission to Aeneas. It proceeds gradually and cumulatively from the vague hints of Hector's ghost to the detailed and explicit instructions of Helenus. It pictures the hero at the beginning wholly ignorant of his great destiny, and leaves him at the end with full understanding that he is divinely ordained to be the builder of that city whence shall spring the walls of lofty Rome.

That many incidents of the hero's career in search for his place of settlement, that even certain wonders and omens and warnings find their source in the works of earlier poets, means no more than that some of Virgil's material, already in existence, did not spring from his own invention. It was still his part to make proper use of it. He conceived Aeneas in two roles; one as a Ulysses sailing away from Troy towards a destination in the west and encountering many marvellous things and undergoing many perilous adventures; the other as a responsible man with a mission of vast importance to the world driving straight ahead to the appointed goal of achievement. These two ideas contain in them much that conflicts, are indeed as wide apart as are the purposeless *Odyssey* and the national *Aeneid*. But Virgil succeeded in weaving them together with such skill and plausibility that they become a single unit. The story of adventure is still there, but the adventures are only incidents along the way toward the fulfilment of God's purposes. The revelation of God's purposes is still there, but it is only a means of guiding the hero safely through his thrilling adventures.

Nor is it to the point in an examination of this sort to criticise Virgil for making his hero as he did, a more or less blind instrument of fate. We may agree that the criticism is just, and yet, accepting Aeneas as he is, may examine Virgil's method of portrayal. Had he not been the blind instrument that he was, there would have been no necessity for the revelation under discussion. As it was, the revelation was necessary, and the poet possessed the skill so to treat it that he holds our interest consistently while developing his hero into the character he must be to satisfy his conception of the poem. This he does with minimum loss of sympathy with the man.

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THE STRUCTURE OF HELIODORUS' *AETHIOPICA*

By CLINTON WALKER KEYES

A great part of the scholarly work done in connection with Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* has been directed toward tracing its extensive influence upon later literature.¹ The conventional lines of *Quellenuntersuchung* have also been followed in some cases.² What has been done along these lines, together with the presence of elements in the story which are so obviously borrowed as to need no research to establish the fact, has created the general impression that Heliodorus is almost entirely lacking in originality. This view has been presented briefly and emphatically by Chassang³ in the following words:

C'est un pastiche des poemes épiques et tragiques de l'antiquité. A chaque page, on trouve des imitations d'Homère et d'Euripide Son roman est conçu sur le plan de l'Odyssée. . . . On retrouve dans l'épisode de Cnémon et de Démenète l'histoire de Phèdre et d'Hippolyte, dans les figures de Pétoisiris et de Thyamis celles d'Etéocle et de Polynice, dans une situation d'Hydaspe en face de Chariclée celle d'Agamemnon prêt à immoler Iphigénie.

We may complete this summary by remarking that many of the learned digressions, and the lengthy accounts of the siege and battle in Book IX, seem to have been inspired by Herodotus, and that the character of the Ethiopian King Hydaspes is clearly a reminiscence of Xenophon's Cyrus. It may also be stated that whether or not Heliodorus borrowed directly from the novel of Xenophon of Ephesus to any great extent, he has certainly introduced the stock episodes and characters of Greek romance. Examples of such commonplace episodes are a capture by pirates,

¹ M. Oeftering, *Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur, Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft XVIII, Berlin, 1901. S. L. Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, Diss. Columbia, 1912.

² M. Schnepf, *De imitationis ratione, quae intercedit inter Heliodorum et Xenophontem Ephesium, commentatio*, Progr. Kempten, 1887. P. Neimke, *Quaestiones Heliodoreae*, Diss. Halle, 1889.

³ A. Chassang, *Histoire du Roman dans l'Antiquité grecque et latine*, Paris, 1862, pp. 416-417.

whose chief falls in love with the heroine, the supposed killing of the heroine, due to mistaken identity, and the trial of the heroine's chastity at the end of her adventures.

The only one of these borrowings which seems to require a detailed examination in order to determine its extent and importance is that from the *Odyssey*. It is my purpose in this article, first, to make such an examination of the extent of the influence of the *Odyssey* upon the plot of the *Aethiopica*; second, to develop from the results of this examination some conjectures as to the growth of the plan of the work in the mind of its author; and, third, to attempt to discover what elements of originality remain to Heliodorus' credit after the elimination of all these borrowings, and the importance of these elements in the development of fiction.⁴

We must first mention a peculiarity of Heliodorus' with respect to his borrowings from the classics. He frequently seems proud of them, and is careful to call them to the attention of his readers. He does this, for example, in the Cnemon-Demaeneta episode by making Demaeneta call Cnemon, "her young Hippolytus, her Theseus."⁵

He is especially careful to indicate to the reader his adoption of the general plan of the *Odyssey*. In fact he motivates it in his story through a prophecy made by the deified Odysseus. While the aged Calasiris is staying at Zacynthus in company with Theagenes and Chariclea, Odysseus appears to him in a dream. After expressing his indignation for the contempt Calasiris has shown for him by neglecting to visit Ithaca when in the vicinity, he prophesies swift punishment for this neglect in the following words: "You shall experience sufferings like mine, meeting enemies both on sea and land."⁶ This prophecy is followed by another, sent by Penelope, which foretells final good fortune to the young heroine, Chariclea. And as Calasiris is addressed in the singular in the prediction quoted above, it appears to apply to him alone.

⁴ Familiarity with the story is assumed throughout the paper. It has not seemed worth while to give an outline of the plot, as such outlines are available in Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, pp. 424-432, and in Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-28.

⁵ I, 10.

⁶ τοιγάρ τοι τούτων ὑφέξεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν δίκην καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐμοὶ παθῶν αἰσθήσῃ, θαλάττῃ τε ἅμα καὶ γῇ πολεμίοις ἐντυγχάνων. V, 22.

Disregarding for the present the implications of the prophecy, and considering the two narratives in general, the most obvious point of resemblance is the fact that the *Aethiopica*, as well as the *Odyssey*, is a *νόστος* story. Chariclea is the chief character, and her return home is the main theme of the novel. The returns of Calasiris and Thyamis are also important elements in the narrative.

The general structure of the *Aethiopica* is also clearly very similar to that of the *Odyssey*. Heliodorus plunges "in medias res" at the very beginning, bringing in the earlier part of the story through the narrative of Calasiris. And here "in medias res" is a precise, not an approximate expression. The point of beginning is "caught up with" in Calasiris' narrative at the end of Book V, exactly the middle point of the work. After that the narrative proceeds almost entirely in chronological order. All this is obviously a careful imitation of the *Odyssey*, for Odysseus ends his narrative to the Phaeacians at the end of Book XII.

The definite break between the two halves of the *Odyssey* is also faithfully reproduced in the *Aethiopica*. In *Odyssey* XIII, the hero takes leave of his friends the Phaeacians, who have received him as their guest, listened to the story of his adventures, and are about to escort him home. Immediately afterwards he begins his adventures in Ithaca. In the same way Calasiris and Chariclea, in Book VI, take final leave of the friends who have listened to their story,—of Cnemon, who has helped them on their way, of Nauricles, who has entertained them at his home, and of his daughter Nausiclea. The only purpose this young lady serves in the story, it seems, is to help in disposing neatly of Cnemon. However, as Nausicles is in a way the Alcinous of the *Aethiopica*, it seems clear that the introduction of Nausiclea was suggested by the episode of Nausicaa. At any rate, the departure of these characters from the narrative, and the setting out of Calasiris and Chariclea alone in search of Theagenes, make a break in the story which is almost as distinct as that in the middle of the *Odyssey*, and clearly similar to it in character.

There is also a clear similarity to the *Odyssey* in the point where Heliodorus begins his story. This is exactly where the adventures on shipboard end and those on land begin. The only incident of a

nautical character which comes later is the battle on the lake.⁷ The story of the *Odyssey* does not indeed begin at the point where all adventures on the sea are at an end, but it does commence with those adventures of Odysseus which follow upon the loss of his ship and crew. The only nautical adventures which follow are the briefly recounted voyages on the raft and on the Phaeacian ship. In both cases all the adventures on shipboard are recounted later by Odysseus and by Calasiris respectively.

The books of the *Odyssey* frequently begin at dawn and end when the characters go to their rest at night. This precedent is followed in Books I, IV, V, and VI of the *Aethiopica*.

Heliodorus naturally had to insert in his novel an account of how his chief characters came to leave their homes, whereas this is of course unnecessary in the story of Odysseus' return. To some extent Calasiris' account of his own journey to Delphi, and of how Chariclea came to be brought there may be said to take the place of the story of Telemachus' wanderings. The only common element appears to be the fact that we are taken back to the homes of the chief characters in both cases. But Cnemon's story can perhaps be said to take the place of that of Telemachus to a still greater degree. Here we have an account of the troubles at home and of the wanderings abroad of a young man who is to be closely associated with the chief characters later. In this respect the episode corresponds closely to the story of Telemachus. Its position in the novel is also striking, as it is introduced in the very first part, before we have been told anything of importance about the chief characters.

A search for particular episodes in the story which show imitation of the *Odyssey* yields few results in the first half of the *Aethiopica*. Of course the clever tricks of Calasiris and Chariclea remind us of the wily hero's ways. The passage in which Chariclea tells Thyamis a false story of her identity and adventures may particularly be compared with some of the accounts which Odysseus gives of himself.⁸

Turning to the second half of the *Aethiopica*, we find, first of all, two episodes which are not only obvious imitations of the *Odyssey*, but are called to our attention as such, in accordance with Heliodorus' habit.

⁷ I, 31-32.

⁸ I, 22. Compare *Od.* XIV, 199 ff., etc.

The plan of disguising themselves as beggars is first proposed to Chariclea by Theagenes in II, 19. Cnemon, in playful objection to the plan, says: Καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖτε τοιοῦδε ὄντες οὐκ ἀκόλους ἀλλ' ἄοράς τε καὶ λήβητας αἰτήσιν, obviously referring to *Odyssey* XVII, 221-222, and thus to Odysseus' masquerade as a beggar.

The plan is actually put into effect by Chariclea and Calasiris in VI, 11. There again we are reminded of the corresponding disguise in the *Odyssey*⁹ by the bag (πήρα) carried by Chariclea. The scene¹⁰ in which Calasiris intervenes to stop the fight between his sons, is unrecognized until he throws off his disguise, and then is welcomed joyfully, is evidently a reminiscence of Telemachus' recognition of Odysseus.¹¹ And the blow which, in the passage immediately following, Chariclea receives from Theagenes before she is recognized by him, reminds us of the buffets received by Odysseus in his own house while disguised as a beggar.

Immediately following the adoption of the beggar's disguise occurs the other episode whose Homeric source Heliodorus indicates to us. This is the incantation scene in which the old woman, unwittingly watched by Calasiris and Chariclea, brings the body of her son to life in order to obtain a prophecy from him.¹² This experience is referred to by Heliodorus as a νέκυνια.¹³ This is the title by which the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* was known; otherwise the word is very rarely used. Its use here would undoubtedly recall the *Odyssey* story to Heliodorus' readers, and was obviously intended to do so. The experience itself is similar to that of Odysseus in that a dead person is called up to give a prophecy, and that he foretells final happiness to both Calasiris and Chariclea. The heroine's happiness is to be attained after many trials, as was to be the case with Odysseus, according to Teiresias' prophecy.¹⁴

When we come to the various recognition scenes, we find there also several obvious resemblances to the *Odyssey*. In the first place, there are three important recognitions in the *Aethiopica*; first, that

⁹ XIII, 430-438.

¹⁰ VII, 7.

¹¹ *Od.* XVI, 172-219.

¹² VI, 14-15.

¹³ VII, 1.

¹⁴ This particular form of νέκυνια was probably suggested to Heliodorus by episodes in works of prose fiction with which he was familiar. Compare Apuleius II, 21-30. Of course we cannot tell whether he got the idea directly from Apuleius or not.

of Calasiris by his sons, second, that of Chariclea by Theagenes, and, third, that of Chariclea by her parents. These evidently correspond to the recognitions of Odysseus, first, by Telemachus, second, by Penelope, and, third, by Laertes. We have called attention above to the clear resemblance between the recognition of Odysseus by Telemachus and that of Calasiris by Thyamis.

The emphasis, of course, is differently placed in the two stories. In the *Odyssey* the most important, and therefore the most gradual, recognition is that by Penelope, while in the *Aethiopica* the recognition of Chariclea by her parents is the most important and longest delayed. Upon comparing these most important recognitions in the two works, we find some points of similarity. The black mark or mole on Chariclea's arm evidently corresponds to the scar on Odysseus' thigh. And, as Chariclea can have no recollection of her birthplace, the evidence of her mother's letter takes the place of Odysseus' memories. The part played by Sisimithres seems to correspond roughly to that of Odysseus' nurse. The unimportance of the conventional tokens is striking.

One of Theagenes' adventures in the latter part of the novel may perhaps be mentioned in this connection also. His conflict with the Ethiopian wrestler may possibly be a reminiscence of Odysseus' flight with Irus in the corresponding part of the *Odyssey*.

This seems to be the extent of Heliodorus' imitation of the *Odyssey*. It appears that the character of Odysseus is actually represented in the *Aethiopica* not by Calasiris alone, as we might have expected from the prophecy, but by both Calasiris and Chariclea. If Theagenes can be thought of as taking on the character of the Homeric hero at all, it is after the death of Calasiris.

These facts tempt us to hazard a conjecture in regard to the development of the plan of the novel in the mind of its author. As the imitation of the *Odyssey* appears to be basic, we must suppose that the author's first idea was to write a romance on its general plan. How did this idea develop? In the completed work, the heroine, Chariclea, is in succession under the guardianship of three mature and virtuous priests, Sisimithres (Ethiopian), Charicles (Greek), and Calasiris (Egyptian). To the last of these comes the prophecy that he shall experience sufferings like those of Odysseus. It seems very probable, therefore, that Heliodorus' first plan included only one mature priest, who was to be approximately the

counterpart of Odysseus. The young lovers, inevitably present, of course, in a Greek romance, were perhaps to occupy a place in the plot comparable in importance to that of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*,—a similar position to that actually taken by the hero, Theagenes, whose place in the story is subordinate to that of Calasiris as well as that of Chariclea. The story was chiefly to be concerned with the adventures met with by these characters, sometimes together, sometimes separated from one another, during their long-delayed return home. It is reasonable to suppose that the most conspicuous imitations of the *Odyssey* which we now find in the work were thought of at an early stage in the development of its plan. This must be true also of the motivation of these imitations through the prophecy. But as the plot was developed in greater detail, and many suggestions from the Greek tragedies, Herodotus, and earlier romances, were worked in, the one priestly guardian was evidently split up into three characters, the heroine became the person of greatest importance, and the plot in general diverged farther and farther from its original model.¹⁵

Now that we have gained a general conception of the extent of Heliodorus' imitation of other works, let us see whether any original elements remain, and, if so, what conclusion we can reach as to their character and importance.

The most conspicuous characteristic of the plot of the *Aethiopica* is its extreme complication. The relations in which the characters stand to one another are involved, and the chronological order is constantly departed from in the narration. A good example of the complicated relations among the characters can be found in the part played by Thyamis. This character, first introduced as a pirate chief, captures the young lovers and falls in love with the heroine. After the escape of the young people he reappears and recaptures the hero from the Persian forces. Still later it is disclosed that he is the son of the important character Calasiris. It is such complicated relationships as this which make the constant departure from the chronological order necessary.

¹⁵ In his final adjustment of the relations and relative importance of the old priest and the pair of lovers, Heliodorus may have been influenced by Iamblichus' *Babylonica*, in which the lovers meet part of their adventures under the protection of Soraecus, the just judge. (Photius 94; cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-381.)

But in spite of the complication, unity and clearness have not been sacrificed. Unity is preserved by the concentration of attention upon the fortunes of Chariclea, and those of Calasiris and Theagenes, whose lives are closely interwoven with hers. On the whole, little extraneous matter is introduced. Short learned or descriptive digressions occasionally occur, and, in Book IX, we find rather lengthy accounts of a siege and a battle, which might well have been shortened or entirely omitted. Cnemon's story, too, is in part unconnected with the main plot. Everything else bears directly on Chariclea's story. Heliodorus has one curious habit which bears upon his careful preservation of the unity of his story. He delights in introducing matter which seems to be unrelated to his plot, only to surprise the reader by revealing its close connection later. For example, when Cnemon finishes his story the reader thinks of it as merely an interlude, and never expects Thisbe, a minor character in it, actually to come into personal relation with the chief characters of the main plot. She soon does so, however, unwittingly saving Chariclea's life by her presence in the pirates' cave.

Complicated plots naturally tend toward obscurity, but the *Aethiopica* is an exception. The plot is absolutely clear in Heliodorus' mind, and is clearly and skilfully presented by him. The careful, attentive reader has no difficulty in following the thread, and Heliodorus was doubtless justified in counting upon such readers in his own day. Where the reader is in any danger of becoming confused, Heliodorus constantly takes pains to avert this danger by such devices as the occasional interruption of a character who is telling a long story, in order to keep before the reader's mind the circumstances under which it is being told.

But the most admirable characteristic of the novel is the skilful way in which the reader's interest and curiosity are aroused and retained. The story begins with a striking scene, vividly described from the point of view of the pirates who are its spectators. After his interest has been captured in this way, the reader's curiosity is played upon throughout the early part of the novel, during which the identity of the hero and heroine are kept concealed while they are plunged into one thrilling adventure after another. The ele-

ment of suspense is used with great skill and effectiveness here and throughout the novel.

In the use of this complicated, skilfully unravelled plot, Heliodorus seems to have been entirely original, although most of the individual episodes of which it is made up are borrowed. Certainly his completed plot is quite different from the simple plan of the *Odyssey*. And the writers of Greek romances who preceded him developed no really complicated relations among their characters, and told their stories for the most part in chronological order. Almost their only variations from this order occur when it is necessary to follow the fortunes of pursuers and pursued, or of separated lovers, alternately. Occasionally they introduce episodes or tales which have nothing to do with the main plot. The same is true of the earlier narratives of Petronius, Apuleius, and Lucian. Herodotus' plan comes closer to Heliodorus' than does that of any other writer who preceded him. Thus the *Aethiopica* is our first example of a story with a plot of the complicated type.

Heliodorus deserves the credit also for the invention of a device which is a commonplace in modern fiction, but of which he has given us the only example in ancient literature. As we have already noted, he takes the reader's interest by storm at the very outset of the story, by placing before his eyes a scene of the most melodramatic character. Buckets of blood, a fair maiden in distress, a gallant youth wounded and supposed to be dying,—these striking elements make it almost impossible for the reader to lay aside the book before learning "what happens next."

The enormous development in the technique of story-writing in modern times makes it difficult for us to estimate a Greek romance fairly, as a product of its own time. We must remember that any study of the development of character, or even the introduction of really distinctive characters, was unknown to the writers of these early novels. For the most part the characters are elemental types like those of the New Comedy. The interest depends entirely on what happens to them; on the variety and unexpectedness of their adventures, in which coincidence plays a great part. It would obviously be absurd to attempt any comparison of these works with the unsurpassed masterpieces of the classical period; the difference is well marked by the words "talent" and "genius."

But the fact that, in spite of the advance in the technique of the novel, the *Aethiopica* can still be read with interest by those who enjoy a lively story of pure adventure, is surely a proof of considerable merit. And Heliodorus' originality as the first contriver of a complicated plot, his skilful use of this new type of plot, and his invention of the device for capturing the reader's interest at the outset, give his work a place of its own in the history of fiction. It is undoubtedly these original elements that explain the enormous influence of the *Aethiopica* on later fiction.

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PRECEDENT IN ROMAN LAW

By G. A. HARRER

In presenting a brief outline on the force of precedents, T. E. Holland makes the following statements:¹

While in England and in the United States a reported case may be cited with almost as much confidence as an Act of Parliament, on the Continent a judgment, though useful as showing the view of the law held by a qualified body of men, seems powerless to constrain another court to take the same view in a similar case.

The Continental view is an inheritance from the law of Rome; for although Cicero enumerates "*res iudicatae*" among the sources of law, and the Emperor Severus attributes binding force, in the interpretation of ambiguous laws, to the "*rerum perpetuo similiter iudicatarum auctoritas*," the contrary principle was finally established by a Constitution of Justin (ian)

There have been of late some symptoms of an approximation between the two theories. While on the Continent judicial decisions are reported with more care, and cited with more effect, than formerly, indications are not wanting that in England and in the United States they are beginning to be somewhat more freely criticised than has hitherto been usual.

Holland is undoubtedly correct in his belief that case decisions were not taken among the Romans as binding precedents. But this was not only so in Justinian's day; it was probably always the case. Holland's reference to Cicero proves nothing, for the passage certainly does not definitely claim binding force for earlier decisions, though it may prove that they exerted influence on judges.² The quotation from the Emperor Severus however seems, at first sight, clear enough:³

In fact the reigning Emperor Severus laid down that where doubts occur owing to the wording of a statute, in such a case custom or the authority of constant decisions given to the same kind of effect ought to have the force of a statute⁴.

¹ *The Elements of Jurisprudence*, 12th edition (1917), pp. 68-70.

² *Topica* 5; *Auctor ad Herennium* II, 13. Possibly Cicero's statements are to be explained as that of Severus below. Cf. *Pro Caecina* xxxiii.

³ *Digest* I, 3, 38, quoting Callistratus (Questions 1).

⁴ Translation of C. H. Munro, whose work is also generally used for quotations from the first six books of the *Digest*; translations of other passages are my own.

On the face of it this statement apparently gives to precedent in Severus' reign an importance similar to that which it enjoys in England and in the United States. This seems to be Holland's idea. But it should be noticed that Severus speaks of "constant decisions"—in the Latin,

rerum perpetuo similiter iudicatarum auctoritatem vim legis obtinere debere.

This simply amounts to giving custom the force of law. And established custom always had remarkable validity. Julianus (Digest 84) states: ⁵

In any kinds of cases in which there are no written laws the rule which ought to be observed is that which has come to prevail by use and custom. . . . Immemorial custom is observed as a statute not unreasonably. . . . Indeed, inasmuch as statutes themselves are binding for no other reason than because they are accepted by the judgment of the people, so anything whatever which the people show their approval of, even though there is no written rule, ought properly to be equally binding on all.

There is no indication in the quotation from Severus that one decision would establish a precedent. Only ⁶ "where a particular interpretation has always been received, there ought to be no change made." This is simply another proof of the force of custom. Similar to this conception is a statement made particularly with reference to modern law, by J. C. Carter: ⁷ "A precedent is but authenticated custom." But according to the Roman law, ⁸ "where a rule has obtained force that is against legal principle, no analogous extension thereof should be made." The opinion is that of Paulus. Julianus makes a similar assertion: ⁹ "In cases where anything has been laid down which is against legal principle, we cannot follow the rule of law so laid down." A statement of the jurist Proculus seems to have a similar bearing: ¹⁰ "But although he who governs a province has to occupy the place and discharge the duties of every Roman magistrate, still it is his duty to consider not so much what

⁵ *Digest* 1, 3, 32. It would be easy to multiply references.

⁶ *Digest* 1, 3, 23, quoting Paulus (on Plautius 4).

⁷ *Law: Its Origin, Growth and Function*, p. 65.

⁸ *Digest* 1, 3, 14.

⁹ *Digest* 1, 3, 15.

¹⁰ *Digest* 1, 18, 12.

is done at Rome as what ought to be done." It is quite evident from these quotations that a judge's decision would only be binding in other cases so far as it recommended itself as a proper interpretation of law. A decision *per se* did not have the force of law^{10a}. Against this proof it is useless to quote the famous maxim:¹¹ "*Res iudicata pro veritate accipitur*"—"a case decided is accepted as the truth." It is not applicable for it simply indicates that any particular decision stands, and is binding on the parties to the suit. It involves also, no doubt, the principle that a judge could not alter his own decision once announced—a principle which is quite clearly set forth by Ulpian:¹² "A judge, after he has once stated his decision, afterwards ceases to be judge (in that case); and this law we use so that a judge . . . cannot alter his decision, for he performed his duty once for all, whether for good or ill."

While putting forward evidence to show that case decisions did not become precedents, it is worth while mentioning the fact that, in the very extensive legal literature which still exists, there seems to be no proof that such decisions were reported and collected to be cited as valid, as is the case in modern times. There exists no discussion of them, though the Roman jurists discuss the most minute details of the applicability of particular laws. Opinions of the jurists, *responsa prudentium*, are discussed *ad infinitum*, but not judges' decisions. If decisions practically became law we should naturally expect very considerable discussion of them. There was, of course, a great deal of study of decisions made by the emperors when they sat as judges, for their word was law. The only possible suggestion that individual cases were reported is to be found in such quotations as that from Severus on "the authority of constant decisions." This may equally as well be explained by the obvious fact that jurists would naturally in their own professional work come to know of instances of uniform interpretation of certain laws in judicial decisions. It does not imply systematic reporting of decisions.

That decisions handed down by emperors became binding precedents is certain. Ulpian (Institutes 1) gives the evidence:¹³

^{10a} Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* v, 2.

¹¹ *Digest* L, 17, 207, quoting Ulpian.

¹² *Digest* XLII, 1, 55.

¹³ *Digest* I, 4. cf. *Institutes* I, 2, 6.

Whatever the Emperor has laid down by letter with his signature, or has decreed on judicial investigation, or has been pronounced out of court, or enacted by an edict, amounts beyond question to a statute. The above are cases of what are commonly called constitutions. No doubt some of them are of special application, and are not drawn into a precedent; wherever the Emperor shows indulgence to any one on the ground of his merits, or imposes a penalty on anyone, or gives him relief in a way not practised theretofore, this applies only to the particular person.

But of course the imperial decision became law, not by virtue of its being a decision, but because it was imperial. Anything the emperor determined of general application was law for the future.

This brings us to Justinian's constitution of which Holland makes use:¹⁴

Let no judge or arbiter think that consultations, which he believes have not been properly decided, should be followed. . . . For if something has been decided not well, this ought not to be extended to the wrong action of other judges, since not by precedents¹⁵ but by laws are decisions to be made. . . . We ordain that all our judges follow the truth and the footsteps of the laws and of justice.

But freedom from following case decisions as precedents does not by any means indicate that judges were more free in Justinian's reign to use their own judgment as to the meaning of a law than they had ever been previously. A reader of Holland, however, might infer that this was the case, and Lord Mackenzie, in the last century, was decidedly of this opinion:¹⁶ "Justinian repealed the law of citations, by restoring to the judges the full liberty of deciding suits according to their own judgment, without being trammelled by the opinions of any lawyers, however eminent." That this statement is wrong will be shown.

That, in an earlier period, at least a modicum of freedom of opinion was allowed judges in interpreting law may be inferred from a statement of Callistratus, who wrote about 200 A. D.:¹⁷ "When a judge, though imperial laws have been promulgated, pronounces against them, because he does not believe that the case, in

¹⁴ *Codex* VII, 45, 13.

¹⁵ The word *exemplum* is used for precedent. So too in *Institutes* I, 2, 6. This meaning is not considered at all in Pauly-Wissowa VI, 1586, s. v.

¹⁶ *Studies in Roman Law*, 4th edition (1876), p. 20.

¹⁷ *Digest* XLII, 1, 32.

which he is judging, is covered by them, he does not appear to have given decision against them." Still earlier, in Hadrian's time, before 138, according to Gaius, a judge enjoyed a certain amount of freedom in interpretation:¹⁸ "If they (the *responsa prudentium*) disagree, the judge may follow what view he likes; and this is expressed in a rescript of the deified Hadrian." Was there greater independence in interpreting laws allowed in the later period than in the earlier? These quotations and references to legal principles made earlier in this paper will hardly support the claim. But another element of the whole problem must be presented before this question can be finally answered.

So far as the topic has been developed it seems evident that precedent in the form of past case decisions was not binding. An interpretation formerly made, but considered wrong, could have no force for the future. It is very interesting to compare with this condition a statement made in a decision handed down in 1919 by the Supreme Court of Ohio:¹⁹ "A decided case is worth as much as it weighs in reason and righteousness, and no more. It is not enough to say 'thus saith the court.'" This is an illustration of Holland's statement at the beginning of this paper, and evidently indicates that modern jurists are now tending to approximate the Roman position on precedent.

There are other phases of this matter of precedent in Roman Law on which Holland does not touch at all, though they are, I think, quite germane to the subject. In the development of Roman Law in the early Empire the *ius respondendi*, the right of reply, played an important part, particularly in the field of private law. This *ius respondendi* was granted by the emperors to a few qualified jurists. Pomponius in the second century gives this account of it:²⁰

It may be observed in passing that before the days of Augustus the right of delivering opinions in the public interest was not granted by the head of the state, but any persons who felt confidence in their own learning gave answers to such as consulted them; moreover they did not always give their answers under seal; they very often wrote to the judge themselves, or called upon those who consulted them to testify to the opinions they gave.

¹⁸ Gaius, *Institutes* I, 1, 7.

¹⁹ *Yale Law Journal* 29 (1919-1920), note, *Stare decisis*: *Adams Express Co. v. Beckwith* (1919, Ohio), 126 N. E. 300.

²⁰ *Digest* I, 2, 49.

The deified Augustus was the first to lay down, in order to ensure greater authority to the law, that the jurist-consult might deliver his answer in pursuance of an authorization given by himself.

Even in the time of the Republic the greatest respect had been given in court to the opinions expressed by prominent students of the law;²¹ but now in the Empire their opinion was a kind of law, when delivered, signed and sealed at the request of a party to a suit, or even of a judge. Seneca adds a detail of information:²² "The responses of the jurists are valid, even if no reason for the response is given by them." Justinian emphasizes, for an earlier day, their validity:²³ "The views and opinions of all of them had such authority that it was not permitted a judge to deviate from a response of them, as has been established by imperial law." Quite in harmony with this statement, though it cannot form actual proof, is the following quotation from Paulus (on the Edict 3):²⁴

By this Edict what has to be punished is malice in the person exercising jurisdiction: if the law has been laid down otherwise than it ought, owing to an oversight on the part of the *assessor*, the ill consequence ought to fall on the *assessor* himself, and not on the magistrate.

The *assessor* was an expert jurist sitting as adviser to the magistrate.

In provinces judges were to look to the *praeses*, the governor, for the interpretation of difficult points:²⁵

Where judges are in doubt about the law, the practice is for the *praeses* to lay it down (*respondere*); if they consult the *praeses* on a question of fact, he is not bound to furnish them with an opinion, he must tell them to pronounce judgment in accordance with their own conscientious conviction.

The governor here fills the role of a jurist—even the same word technically used of their replies is here used—*respondere*. Of course a governor might himself use the advice of assessors.²⁶

Berger²⁷ is of the opinion that a *responsum* which a judge re-

²¹ Cicero, *Pro Caecina* XXIII.

²² *Epistulae* XCIV, 27.

²³ *Institutes* I, 2, 8.

²⁴ *Digest* II, 2, 2.

²⁵ *Digest* V, 1, 79, quoting Ulpian (on the office of proconsul).

²⁶ *Code* I, 51, 2.

²⁷ Pauly-Wissowa X (1919), 1166.

quested of a jurist was not binding on him, but had only a moral value. The evidence seems to be against Berger. Furthermore, if his view were true, then the judge, and not the jurist possessed of the *ius respondendi*, would interpret the law, and one would expect to find evidence of collections of judges' decisions. Such collections, as has been noted, were apparently not made. Probably the praetors, whose right of edict during the first century and a half of the Empire gave them great latitude in interpreting law,²⁸ and later the city prefect and the praetorian prefect, were exempt from the necessity of following a jurist's interpretation. This detail is not clear.

A statement from Gaius will develop the topic further:²⁹

Replies of the jurists are the views and opinions of those to whom permission has been given to establish laws (*iura condere*). If the views of all of them agree, that, which they so believe, obtains the force of law (*legis vicem*); but if they disagree, the judge may follow what view he likes; and this is expressed in a rescript of the deified Hadrian.

R. W. Leage³⁰ believes this simply to mean that Hadrian "confirmed the existing practice, viz., that the judge was to be bound only by the opinions of living jurists who had given their *responsa* with regard to the particular case in actual litigation." It is hard to see merely this in the quotation. Berger³¹ agrees with the view that *responsa* were preserved and arranged for reference, and that by such *responsa* of past cases a judge was bound, unless, as Gaius states, they disagreed. This is also certainly the view of Sohm.³² It is clear from a cursory reading in the *Digest* that there were collections of the *responsa* of eminent jurists. They are very extensively quoted as authoritative.³³ The evidence then rather supports the interpretation of Gaius' statement which is favored by Berger and Sohm.

A *responsum* then became law, or the valid interpretation of law.

²⁸ R. Sohm, *Institutionen des Römischen Rechts*, 16th edition (1920), p. 86 ff. On the prefect see *Codex* I, 26, 2.

²⁹ *Institutes* I, 1, 7. cf. above, and note 18.

³⁰ *Roman Private Law* (1909), p. 33.

³¹ Pauly-Wissowa, I. c. 1166-1167.

³² *Institutionen*, etc., p. 108.

³³ For example: Paulus' *Responsa*, *Digest* II, 8, 14; Scaevola's *Responsa*, *Digest* V, 2, 13; Papinian's *Responsa*, *Digest* V, 2, 16.

Ulpian (Fideicommissa 6) illustrates the point:³⁴ "The question arose whether the order of the original judge could be carried out. My answer was that it could *a similar rule is to be observed in all cases of this kind.*" The last part of the remark is significant. Again Ulpian (on the Edict 11) reports a *responsum* given by Celsus at the request of the praetor Flavius Respectus early in the second century:³⁵ Celsus' opinion is quoted as though valid, and not a word is said about the praetor's actual decision in the case. Apparently the authority of a *responsum* was judged greater by Ulpian than that of a case decision, though made by a praetor.

But this does not exclude the view that an opinion advanced by a living jurist might supersede opinions handed down from the past. On the contrary the *Digest* will support this view. Ulpian (on the Edict 6) says:³⁶ "Where a penalty of undue severity is imposed beyond the terms of a statute, the character of the party is not affected: this has been enacted (by an imperial constitution), and also laid down by a *responsum*." He then goes on to state an exception to this general rule.³⁷ In the one passage both the force of a *responsum* and the fact that a later view could amend an earlier, are illustrated.

In the evidence that has been brought forward to this point it seems certain that the Romans were making use of precedent, not the precedent of judges' decisions, but of jurists' opinions, the *responsa prudentium*.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the praetors and certain of the prefects interpreted the law, and that governors enjoyed a right analogous to the *ius respondendi* of the jurists. The emperors, whose word was law, exercised a somewhat similar right in the form of rescripts, which were written replies on legal points sent, on request, to officials and to private citizens. An example will make the form clear:³⁸

³⁴ *Digest* II, 1, 19. See also quotation from Ulpian below, and note 36.

³⁵ *Digest* IV, 4, 3, 1.

³⁶ *Digest* III, 2, 13, 7.

³⁷ See also *Digest* III, 5, 10; IV, 2, 9; IV, 2, 14, 9; IV, 3, 21. In these instances later views oppose or qualify earlier views, but it is not certain that the qualifications were in the form of *responsa*. They are at least opinions advanced as authoritative and quoted as law in the later Empire by the *Digest*.

³⁸ *Codes* II, 13, 2.

The Deified Brothers to Sextilia:—"Since you say that it is a matter of money, you can meet the appeal of your opponent . . . by the agency of your husband, since appeals on money matters can be handled even through procurators (agents) by either party to the litigation." Received the eighth day before the Kalends of August in their own consulship (July 25, 161).

This rescript, an interpretation of rights in a special case, because of its general application, became a precedent, and was finally included in Justinian's *Codex*. Such general rescripts are often commented on by the jurists;³⁹ but no similar form from any other official is known to them.⁴⁰

In still another form the opinions of leading jurists found expression, and ultimately gained legal force, that is, in their books and treatises on various phases of the law. Aulus Gellius,⁴¹ in the second century A. D., gives an instance of the great respect paid to an opinion of Varro, a contemporary of Cicero of the first century B. C. A question was raised in an actual case as to the legality of summoning a quaestor to appear before a praetor's court. The jurists were very uncertain about it, until Gellius found a passage in a book of Varro, which gave an affirmative opinion. At once all the jurists agreed to that effect. Though Varro's book was certainly not law in any sense, yet it did serve as a kind of precedent, whose force was based on Varro's reputation. During the first two and a half centuries of the Empire thousands of legal treatises were written. Later writers continually quote, comment on, approve, and criticise earlier works.⁴² To be sure none of these works in themselves had the force of law when they were produced; but they evidently strongly influenced jurists who had the *ius respondendi*, and of course they were often written by holders of that right.

But before 300 A. D. the grant of the *ius respondendi* was no longer given by the emperors. Their rescripts alone interpreted new problems of the law.⁴³ By that time also the period of the great jurists was over, and consequently, the writing of legal treatises.

³⁹ For example in *Digest* IV, 1, 7, Marcellus quotes a rescript of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

⁴⁰ Perhaps the praetorian prefect had some such right. See *Codex* I, 26, 2.

⁴¹ *Noctes Atticae* XIII, 13.

⁴² For example *Digest* IV, 4, 11; IV, 8, 11; IV, 8, 17; IV, 9, 3.

⁴³ Sohm, *op. cit.* p. 136.

With the Empire, the science of law had passed the zenith of its development. But the writings of the jurists of the centuries past gained all the more influence as time went on; for apparently their works covered most of the points at all likely to arise, and consequently they were looked to for interpretations by the less capable legal officials of the later period. What was to be done when the authorities differed? Constantine found a partial remedy by giving peculiar authority to works of Papinian and to the *Sententiae* of Paulus.⁴⁴ A century later in 426, Valentinian III settled this difficulty more definitely by his "law of citations."⁴⁵ He selected the works of Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, and Modestinus, together with the jurists quoted by them, as final authorities in determining the meaning of laws interpreted by them. The judge was bound to follow their interpretations. In case of a difference of opinion, the majority decided; if they should be equally divided, Papinian's view prevailed; if Papinian did not cover the point, the judge could use his own judgment. This is but to say that the views of the classical jurists, expressed on actual and possible cases alike, had become authoritative precedents.

One step further remained to be taken. Justinian⁴⁶ published his *Codex* in 529—a second edition in 534—and his *Digest* in 533. The *Codex* was a selection and arrangements of imperial constitutions, laws of all sorts passed by the emperors, and its subjects, both public and private law. In compiling the *Digest* an attempt was made to improve on the "law of citations." The *Digest* is simply a compilation of the works of great jurists, quotations from them being culled and arranged by topics, and changes being made so as to wipe out all disagreements in interpretation.⁴⁷ The work was intended to be complete and final, and to facilitate judges' labors by presenting them with definite harmonious interpretations.

In this there was no idea of freeing the judge from the precedents of jurists' opinions. Mackenzie and Holland have missed the point.⁴⁸ The judges of Justinian's day were free only from the

⁴⁴ Leage, *op. cit.* p. 33.

⁴⁵ Sohm, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138; Leage, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁶ Sohm, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁴⁷ See the constitutions *Deo auctore* 4 ff., and *Tanta* 10 ff.

⁴⁸ See above in connection with notes 14 and 16.

precedents of particular case decisions, which, however, had never been binding. But the assembling of jurists' opinions in the *Digest* only made precedent set by those opinions all the more binding. That this was Justinian's purpose seems clear, and there is good evidence to strengthen the belief.

Gaius, in a passage quoted above,⁴⁹ stated that when the *responsa* did not agree, the judge might follow what opinion he liked. Now Justinian's *Institutes*,⁵⁰ which are based generally on Gaius, quote a part of this passage, omit the statement concerning the judges' independence, but add the remark:⁵¹ "that it was not permitted a judge to deviate from a *responsum* of them, as has been established by imperial law." Since the *Institutes* are here evidently referring to the practice of an earlier day, the omission of this one element belonging to that earlier day, and the adding of another are very significant.

The words of Justinian himself set forth in the constitution *Tanta*, which he wrote as a kind of preface to the *Digest*, will directly make plain that judges were left as little freedom of interpretation as possible after the publication of the several codes:⁵²

Hence it has come to pass that where of old there was any matter of doubt the question has now become quite safe and undisturbed, and no room for hesitation is left. . . . The fact is that the men who carried on actions of law in the old days, in spite of the number of rules of law that had been laid down, still only made use of a few of them in the course of the trial, either because of a deficient supply of books, which it was out of their power to procure, or simply owing to their own ignorance; and cases were decided according to the good pleasure of the judge rather than by the letter of the law⁵³. . . .

. . . . Whenever any such difficulty arises let the August remedy be sought . . . it should be in a position, whenever a novel contingency arrives, to meet the same with amendment and arrangement, and to put it under apt form and regulations. . . .

. . . . Moreover in every trial or other contest where rules of law have

⁴⁹ See note 29.

⁵⁰ I, 2, 8.

⁵¹ See above in connection with note 23.

⁵² Constitution *Tanta* 10, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

⁵³ Evidently the enormous number of all sorts of jurists' works had proved too large to be consulted properly. Holland (*op. cit.*, p. 70, note 4) seems to think that such a condition is being reached in the United States in the case of reported decisions.

to be enforced, let no one seek to quote or maintain any rule of law save as taken from the above mentioned *Institutes* or our *Digest* or *Ordinances* such as composed and promulgated by us, unless he wish to have to meet the charge of forgery as an adulterator, together with penalties. . . . But if, as before said, anything should appear doubtful, this must be by the judges referred to the Imperial Majesty, and the truth be pronounced on the Augustal authority, to which alone it belongs both to make and to interpret laws.

In view of this evidence the opinion that independence of interpretations was granted to the judges in Justinian's age has no weight. Justinian's warning, quoted earlier in this paper, that judges were not bound by precedents set by the decisions of other judges, was apparently read by Holland and Mackenzie from the standpoint of English law in which the precedents of case decisions are all important. It may have been intended to prevent ignorant magistrates from taking the easy method of looking solely to recent decisions of which they would have knowledge, rather than looking further to the principles established in earlier ages, but only to be found by diligent search in the jurists' writings. This is all the more likely, since at the time Justinian gave this warning the *Digest* had not yet been compiled. But a few years later he wrote his opinion of the "independence of the judiciary," and clearly enough, as it has just been quoted.

Our study here comes to an end. Judges had rather less freedom of interpretation than formerly. This condition was due ultimately, no doubt, to the absolute power of the emperors which would not permit any sort of judge-made law, and also to the fact that in the decline of civilization judges were more ignorant, and needed very precise rules to guide them. As in earlier times they were to decide on the facts presented to them, but no longer on the law's meaning. That, subject to improvement by the emperor, was already laid down. Precedent, in the form of jurists' opinions quoted in the *Digest*, together with Emperors' rescripts in the *Codex*, had become rigidly binding.

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"FORTUNA" IN LATIN POETRY

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Every reader of Latin literature is aware of the recurring use of the word *fortuna* in its several meanings. It meets him with widely varying frequency in individual writers of all periods and in all departments, but is especially prominent in poetry, history, and philosophical discussion. Recently with a view of following in detail the main ideas and conceptions associated with the word by the Roman poets, I collected and examined nearly a thousand instances of its use by authors extending in time from the earlier to the later periods. An attempt will be made to give here some of the more important results of the study undertaken. For practical purposes of illustration and discussion the examples have been thrown into three general classes, two of which in turn divide into various shades and extensions of the more general meaning denoted by the whole class.

The word *fortuna* is an adjective formation from *fors* (itself derived from *ferre*),¹ and, so far as a study of the literature shows, *fors* must have signified from the first the principle or thing which "brings or carries away,"² the incalculable element in nature and in human life,³ what people ordinarily know as chance, hap, accident, luck—whether good or bad. It seems conclusive too that while *fors* originally meant in particular the uncertain or unknown element in life, and while it also shared with *fortuna* the meaning of "deity,"⁴ it did not connote a capricious force⁵ (expressed by

¹ Corssen, *Aussprache, Vokalismus*, etc., 1870, I, p. 434 f.; II, 194; idem, *Krit. Beitr. zu lat. Formenlehre*, 1863, p. 194f.; Curtius, *Griech. Etym.*, 1879, p. 299 f.; Stolz, *Hist. Gram.*, 1895, p. 488; Walde, *Lat. Etym. Worterbh.*, s. v.

² Corssen, *Krit. Beitr.*, l. c., *fors* und *fortuna* bedeuten eben das was "sich zuträgt." Cf. Ennius (*Ann.*, VI, 197 Vahlen), *quidve ferat Fors*.

³ Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 1914, p. 62; idem, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 1911, p. 245; idem, article *Fortuna* in *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1914.

⁴ Otto, *Pauly-Wiss., R. E.*, (vii, 12ff.) s. v. *Fortuna*: die Dichter freilich brauchen *Fors* und *Fortuna* synonym. See Forcellini (*Onomasticon*) s. v. *Fors*.

⁵ Otto, l. c. Bei dem Wort *fortuna* (und *Fors*) und der gleichnamigen

temeritas,⁶ and later by *fortuna* in some of its uses), but simply the idea of luck, chance, etc., which is common to the mind and language of all peoples, whether educated or not to reason on the mysteries of life. At a very early period, no doubt, *fortuna* came to be regarded as the *numen* concerned with, the deity presiding over, *fors* (a conception that *fortuna* perhaps never wholly lost), not merely the personification of luck, chance, or accident itself. That this distinction survived to a relatively late period is evident from Nonius' words expressing the difference between *fortuna* and *fors*.⁷ If the examples brought under review in this paper offer a sufficient basis for conclusion, it was only to a limited degree that *fors* shared the place of *fortuna* conceived as a deity, while on the other hand it yielded almost entirely to *fortuna* in the mere personification of luck or chance. In all its uses *fors* occurs much less frequently than does *fortuna*, the total number of examples found within the limits studied being 62 as against 988. Occurrences of both words may have been overlooked, but not many. Not the least interesting feature of the study is the question whether the conception of *fortuna* in any given instance, as determined by accompanying cult title,⁸ or epithet, or by the bare context, is one of good or bad fortune, kind or unkind, helpful or harmful, changeable or constant, etc.

The most important and instructive class of examples, numbering

Göttin dachte die spätere Zeit vornehmlich an dem blinden Zufall—ursprünglich war das anders. See also Carter, *Religion of Numa*, 1906, p. 50 f.

⁶ See Pacuvius (*T. R. F.*, p. 144 Ribbeck), sunt autem alii philosophi qui contra Fortuna negant ullam miseriam esse, temeritatem esse omnia autumnant.

⁷ Although the examples cited by Nonius (425 M.) do not clearly bear out the distinction, he says: fortuna et fors hoc distant; fors est casus temporalis, fortuna dea est ipsa. Otto (*l. c.*) thinks that *fors* shows more than *fortuna* the character of pure chance; Breccia (*Ruggiero's Dizionario Epigrafico, s. v.*) that both signify chance, but *fors* the uncertain chance which comes through destiny.

⁸ By cult title is meant that by which a deity was actually invoked; by epithet an adjective or descriptive or laudatory phrase, occasionally applied or more or less stereotyped; by eponym an adjective or phrase connecting a deity with a place or person.

335, is that in which Fortuna is represented either as a goddess⁹ of Roman veneration, worshipped as the divinity presiding over the unforeseen, the unexpected, the incalculable in the life of individuals and the nation, or as a deified power which personifies chance, determines human success, apportions happiness, and distributes lot, fate, destiny, etc., favorable or unfavorable, as the case may be. The cult of Fortuna,¹⁰ who was worshipped in Italy probably from remote antiquity, seems to have reached the Romans through their Latin neighbors.¹¹ The tradition is that it was introduced at Rome by king Servius Tullius,¹² popularly believed to be her favorite and confident.¹³ According to the legend he founded her oldest sanctuary in gratitude for his elevation from a slave's estate to the throne and for his long and prosperous reign,¹⁴ e. g. the *fanum Fortis Fortunae*, outside the city on the right bank of the Tiber, and the *aedes Fortunae*, in the Forum Boarium, where there was a statue which according to some represented Tullius, according to others the goddess Fortuna.¹⁵ As time went on Fortuna was revered under numerous cults, representing functions and relations that left her scarcely more individuality than that of a *genius*.¹⁶ She was invoked

⁹ It is often impossible to decide whether the personified *fortuna* is conceived by an author also as a deity. Texts vary greatly in the use of capitals in a given passage. "Abstracts are often confused with personification and personification with deification as the boundaries between these theoretically distinct provinces are slight and vague." (Axtell, *Deification of Abstracts*, 1907, p. 67).

¹⁰ For details see especially Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (*Mueller's Handbuch*, v, 4, pp. 256-268); Peter, *Roscher's Ausführ. Lex.*, i, 1500-1558; Otto, *Pauly-Wiss., R. E.*, vii, 12 ff.; Preller-Jordan, *Rom. Myth.*, ii, 179-195; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiqu.*, ii, 1264-77.

¹¹ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 258; *Roscher's Lex.*, 1548. Gilbert (*Gesch. und Top. der Stadt Rom*, ii, 389 f.) sees in her worship the special cult of some tribe which settled at Rome, whence it spread among the entire population.

¹² Otto, *op. cit.*, 16. Plutarch (*de fortuna Rom.*, 5) alone ascribes to Aucus Martius the founding of the first sanctuary. Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 50, maintains that Fortuna was an early goddess of plenty and fertility, hence long antedating the time of Servius Tullius.

¹³ See Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 10; idem, *Quaest. Rom.*, 36; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 573 3ff.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 106; idem, *de fortuna Rom.*, 10; Val. Max., iii, 4, 3, in Servio autem Tullio fortuna praecipue vires suas ostendit.

¹⁵ See Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 256 with authorities.

¹⁶ *Roscher's Lex.*, 1521 ff.

in almost all the acts and circumstances of life, to such a degree that sometimes families and individuals,¹⁷ places and institutions¹⁸ venerated their own particular Fortuna. Her worship became the most popular in Italy, thence spreading into all parts of the empire.¹⁹ Beginning with Augustus the emperors honored her under the title of *Fortuna Redux*, and she stood in close relation to their cult under the cognomen Augusta. She was recognized as the supreme deity in the crisis of childbirth in the imperial household when the *Fortunae Antiates* were placed on the throne of Jupiter.²⁰ The golden image of Fortuna kept in the bed chamber of Antoninus Pius was transferred to that of M. Aurelius as a symbol of succession.²¹ Under the empire the goddess of chance found her way into the Roman armies.²² She appears associated with other important divinities,²³ not only in the *Fasti*, in which she is necessarily named with them, but in numerous dedicatory inscriptions, with Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mercury, Mars, Hercules, Venus, Spes, Felicitas, Tutela, etc. And whatever the

¹⁷ Cf. Crassiana (*C. I. L.*, vi, 186); Flavia (vi, 187); Torquatiana (vi, 204); Tulliana (vi, 8706).

¹⁸ See Ruggiero's *Dizionario*, s. v.

¹⁹ Pliny's words (*N. H.*, ii, 22), *toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur*, etc., show what expansion the cult had undergone in the early Empire. The statement finds confirmation in the extraordinary number of dedicatory inscriptions to Fortuna found in Italy and the provinces (See Ruggiero's *Dizionario*), and in the innumerable coins, statues, and bronzes with representation of the goddess, who is usually found among the penates. (See Roscher's *Lex.*, i, 1503 ff.). The usual attributes are identical with those of Greek Tyche—a cornucopia as the bestower of abundance, a rudder as the pilot of destiny, wings, wheel, and ball as emblems of fickleness. For the conditions of skepticism and uncertainty which favored the development of Fortuna's cult, see Carter, *Religion of Numa*, p. 50 f.; also Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in the Divine Comedy*, *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Dante Society*, Cambridge, Mass., 1914, pp. 15-18.

²⁰ Tac. *Ann.*, xv, 23.

²¹ Jul. Capitol, iii, 5, 6.

²² Introduced by Vespasian (Domaszewski, *Religion des röm. Heeres*, p. 40). Previously there was no official recognition of the importance of chance, which it was the army's duty to overcome. See Axtell, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²³ See Ruggiero's *Dizionario*.

variations and modifications of belief in the case of her various followers, Fortuna, as an exception among deified abstracts²⁴ and in contrast with the ordinarily meager poetic personification admitted by their mythology, was vividly conceived and firmly believed in by the Romans. She counted a large number of loyal worshippers who built temples and shrines in her honor.²⁵ The titles under which she was worshipped and the epithets applied varied, of course, according to the circumstances of life in which her influence was supposed to have effect.

First to be considered are the relatively few instances in poetry in which Fortuna is referred to by a cult title,²⁶ as e. g. *Fors Fortuna*²⁷ (an earlier and fuller designation under which she was worshipped), once in Terence,²⁸ as a mere exclamation, "O great good luck," and twice in Ovid,²⁹ where each has reference to the

²⁴ See Axtell, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 97, 98.

²⁵ According to Plutarch (*de fortuna Rom.*, 4), after Tyche (Fortuna) had passed through the whole world she laid aside her wings and fixed her abode at Rome. But if by comparison she appears to have favored the Romans particularly, it must be remembered that she was held in honor from the earliest beginnings of the city, whereas in Greece she appears relatively late.

²⁶ Cf. note 8. Carter (*de Deorum Romanorum Cognominibus*, 1898, p. 7 and *Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna," T. A. P. A.*, xxxi, p. 62 f.) has collected 41 such titles, of which 22 are found in inscriptions only, and 12 in the inscriptions and literature.

²⁷ Fors itself does not appear in the cult and is omitted from Carter's list of Cognomina. He believes (*Relig. of Numa*, p. 51) that Fortuna is the cult name added to Fors to intensify the latter's meaning, but that it finally broke off and became independent. Fowler sees in *Fors Fortuna* a "reduplicate title quite in the Roman manner" (*Ideas of Deity*, p. 64). Otto, *op. cit.*, 13 regards the double title as a means of emphasizing the element of chance. Donatus (on Ter. *Phorm.*, 841) says: aliud Fortuna est, aliud Fors Fortuna est cuius diem colunt qui sine arte aliqua vivunt; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, 773 ff. Most probably, since both Fors and Fortuna were early regarded as deities, we have a title formed by asyndeton and retained through conservatism. See Schmalz, *Synt. und Stil.*, 1910, p. 685; alliterierende Synonyma waren ursprünglich nur ohne Kunjunktion aneinander gereiht.

²⁸ *Phorm.*, 841.

²⁹ *Ars. Amat.*, II, 255; *Fasti*, VI, 773 ff. Particularly a festival of the plebs, established by Servius Tullius (Varro, *L. L.*, VI, 17), enjoyed especially by slaves, and characterized by levity and merriment.

day (June 21) on which her annual festival was celebrated by a pilgrimage down the Tiber.³⁰ *Fortuna Primigenia*,³¹ whose home was at Praeneste, where the goddess had an ancient and famous oracle,³² whence she was introduced into Rome³³ in B. C. 204, is mentioned several times. Lucan recalls the horror of civil wars, when as a result of Sulla's vengeance,

vidit Fortuna colonos
Praenestina suos cunctos simul ense receptos
unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis.³⁴

Juvenal's Cretonius had a mania for building and erected on Praeneste's hills, with marbles brought from Greece and distant points, high-roofed villas that dwarfed Fortuna's shrine,

nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat
culmina villarum Graecis longeque petitis
marmoribus vincens Fortunae . . . aedem.³⁵

Silius Italicus thus enumerates Praeneste's forces among those that are to oppose Hannibal at Cannae,

hinc Tibur, Catille, tuum sacrisque dicatum
Fortunae Praeneste iugis.³⁶

Finally in the opening verses of a dedicatory inscription *Fortuna Primigenia* is thus invoked:

Tu quae Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonati,
votorum vindex semper Fortuna meorum,
accipe . . .³⁷

³⁰ Cf. Cic. *de Fin.*, v, 24, 70.

³¹ Usually interpreted (from *C. I. L.*, xiv, 2863) as meaning "first-born daughter of Jove." See Carter, *Cognomina*, etc., p. 67; Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Otto, *op. cit.*, 24; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 166 and 223; *Ideas of Deity*, p. 63. Recently, however, Fowler (*Roman Essays and Interpretations*, 1920, p. 64 f.) argues against his former view that it means the Fortuna who was the original of all the Fortunae afterwards suggested or devised by man's experience, i. e., the one that gave rise to the whole series.

³² See Cic. *de Div.*, ii, 41, 85 ff.

³³ As the result of the vow of a temple to her made by P. Sempronius Tuditanus at the battle of Crotona (Livy, xxix, 36, 8). The dedication occurred in 194 B. C. (Livy, xxxiv, 53, 5).

³⁴ ii, 192-4.

³⁵ xiv, 88-90.

³⁶ viii, 364.

³⁷ *C. L. E.*, i, 117 (Buech.) = *C. I. L.*, xiv, 2852. The inscription although

Fortuna Publica in historic times had at least two temples at Rome, both situated on the Quirinal. When they were founded is not known, but the *dies natalicius* of each is given by Ovid. Of the celebration which fell on April 5 in honor of the Fortuna of the "mighty nation," he says,

nec te praetereo, populi Fortuna potentis
Publica, cui templum luce sequente datum est.³⁹

And of the other we read that when the next dawn (May 25) shall have shone that person shall be speaking true,

qui dicet "quondam sacrata est colle Quirini
hac Fortuna die Publica."⁴⁰

On April 1, and in conjunction with *Venus Verticordia*, was celebrated the festival of *Fortuna Virilis*. To her, according to Ovid,⁴⁰ sacrifices were made on that day by women, by those of the lower orders probably to insure favor in their relations with men, and by those of rank as a protection to womanly virtue. Of *Fortuna Obsequens* we hear but once in poetry,⁴¹ although several times through inscriptions and coins,⁴² and we know that a street at Rome was named for her.⁴³ *Bona Fortuna*⁴⁴ and *Mala Fortuna*⁴⁵ (the former in inscriptions and literature, the latter in literature only) meet us but rarely—in Plautus, in whose age abstract cults were popular, and in Afranius, who, like Plautus, makes characters apply to themselves the names of deities whose artificiality is quite evident. These cognomina, which are apparently combined in a fragment of

set up by a townsman of Praeneste, probably refers to the Capitolium at Rome where Servius Tullius built a temple to the goddess (see Buecheler's note).

³⁹ *Fasti*, v, 729 f.

⁴⁰ *Fasti*, iv, 376.

⁴¹ *Fasti*, iv, 145 ff.; see also Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 1899, p. 68.

⁴² Plaut. *Asin.*, 716. Plutarch (*de fort. Rom.*, 10) ascribes her worship to Servius Tullius, but there was evidently a tendency to attribute all Fortuna cults to this king.

⁴³ Roscher's *Ausführ. Lex.*, 1512.

⁴⁴ *C. I. L.*, vi, 975 vicus Fortunae obsequent (is).

⁴⁵ Plaut. *Aul.*, 100; *Capt.*, 864; Afranius (*C. F. R.*, p. 263).

⁴⁶ Plaut. *Rud.*, 501. She had an impressive altar on the Esquiline (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.*, III, 25, 63).

Laberius,—Fortuna, immoderata in bono atque in malo ⁴⁶—probably arose when from the original conception of “good fortune” the idea associated with Fortuna became one of chance, a shift in conception likely influenced by the Greek idea of Fortuna caeca et exoculata.⁴⁷ To *Fortuna Redux* Augustus on his return in 19 B. C. from travels in Sicily, Greece, and the East instituted an altar near the Porta Capena.⁴⁸ Her festival, the *Augustalia*, was celebrated on October 12 and the invocation to her became a part of the official ceremony of succeeding imperial voyages. On Domitian’s return from Germany he had erected on the Campus Martius ⁴⁹ a temple to the goddess who had insured his safe return, to which fact Claudian refers,

Aurea Fortunae Reduci ai templa priores
Ob reditum vovere ducum, non dignius umquam
Haec dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceret aedes
Quam sua cum pariter trabeis reparatur et urbi
Maiestas.⁵⁰

Likewise in Claudian appears the last instance found in this study of Fortuna used as a deity in connection with the imperial family,⁵¹ here in the sense of “Caesar’s Luck”:

Si mihi tempestas Libyam ventium negabunt
Augusti Fortuna dabit.⁵²

Only three instances were found connecting the goddess with a place or nation. The *Fortuna of Antium*, at whose oracle and temple two images (*Fortunae Antiates*) were consulted by lot as late as the time of Theodosius, is commemorated in Horace’s well-known hymn beginning, O diva, gratum quae regis antium.⁵³ Here the goddess, whose universal sway is acknowledged, who is attended by Hope and Faith but deserted by the faithless, is implored to guard Augustus in his expedition to far-off Britain and the young warriors making ready to invade the East. Lucan’s *Fortuna Ro-*

⁴⁶ *C. F. R.*, p. 359.

⁴⁷ *Apul.*, vii, 2; see Axtell, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴⁸ Mommsen, *Res. Gest. divi Aug.*, p. 46.

⁴⁹ *Mart.*, viii, 65.

⁵⁰ *De Vi. Cons. Honor.*, 1 ff.

⁵¹ On this see word “Augustus” in *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.*, ii, 1393 ff.; *Roscher’s Lex.*, i, 1524 f.; Otto, *Pauly-Wiss., R. E.*

⁵² *De Bell. Gildon.*, i, 504.

⁵³ *Odes*, i, 35.

mana,⁵⁴ like Silius Italicus' *Fortuna Sidonia*,⁵⁵ need not detain us. While formal eponyms they actually represent nothing more than the excessive tendency of these authors toward personification and the vivid effect sought by deifying virtues and qualities.

Adjectives or other descriptive or laudatory epithets take a considerable range. I find 68 such with a total of 101 examples. Carter's list⁵⁶—by no means complete—shows the following: *anceps*, *atrox*, *blanda*, *bruta*, *caeca*, *comes*, *crudelis*, *domina aequoris*, *duplex*, *dura*, *fallax*, *fausta*, *filia Iovis*, *fragilis*, *gubernatrix*, *impotens*, *improba*, *incerta*, *inconstans*, *indulgens*, *iniqua*, *insana*, *instabilis*, *invida*, *laeta*, *latens*, *levis*, *lubrica*, *minax miserrima*, *omnipotens*, *perfida*, *pertinax*, *praecelsa*, *praesens*, *prospera*, *provida*, *rapax*, *saeva*, *superba*, *titubans*, *valens*, *varia*, *velox*, *vindex votorum*, *volubilis*, *volucris*. To these should be added:⁵⁷ *adiutrix* (Plaut. *Poen.*, 973), *adversa* (Tib., IV, I, 178), *cerat* (Ovid, *Trist.*, v, 8, 16), *favens* (Claud. *Carm. Min.*, App. II, 86), *furibunda* (P. L. M., I, p. 117), *impia* (Sil. Ital., IX, 159), *improba* (Verg. *Aen.*, II, 79), *infida* (Stat. *Silv.*, v, 1, 144), *iniquissima* (C. L. E., II, 774), *laetior* (Claud. *de Vi. Cons. Honor.*, 500), *laeva* (Sil. Ital., III, 94; C. L. E., I, 242), *larga* (Stat. *Silv.*, II, 6, 68), *levis* (Stat. *Silv.*, v, 1, 144; Syrus, 295; A. L., II, 96), *lucrifer*a (Plaut. *Pers.*, 516), *manentem* (Hor. *Odes*, III, 29, 53), *melior* (Stat. *Theb.*, XI, 659), *minor* (Sen. *Phaedr.*, 1124), *nocens* (A. L., II, 90; P. L. M., IV, 152), *noxia* (Claud. *de Raptu Proserp.*, I, 95); *saevior* (Sen. *Oct.*, 931), *tenax* (Ovid, *Trist.*, v, 8, 16). Such accompanying epithets show at a glance whether the poet's conception of Fortuna is favorable or unfavorable, etc. Far oftener, however, her character must be learned from the context, e. g. kindness is shown by the verb used, as in *adspirat*,⁵⁸ *iuvet et . . . consultat*,⁵⁹ *altius evertit*,⁶⁰ *posuit alte*; ⁶¹ very often by verb and noun or adjective, *dedit vitem*,⁶² *voltum*

⁵⁴ VIII, 686.

⁵⁵ XV, 737-8.

⁵⁶ *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poetas Latinos leguntur*, 1902, s. v. *Fortuna*.

⁵⁷ Add also from inscriptional sources (see Ruggiero's *Dizionario*, s. v. *Fortuna*): *alma*, *beata*, *cancesis*, *citerioris*, *dubia*, *invictrix*, *sancta*.

⁵⁸ Verg. *Aen.*, I, 385; cf. Stat. *Theb.*, XII, 197.

⁵⁹ Ovid, *Meta.*, II, 140.

⁶⁰ Sen. *Tr.*, 259.

⁶¹ P. L. M., I, p. 116.

⁶² Hor. *Odes*, I, 31, 10.

servat benignum,⁶³ *me potentem fecerit*,⁶⁴ *res mihi Romanas dederas*,⁶⁵ or by noun on which Fortuna depends, *Fortunae rivus*,⁶⁶ *filius*,⁶⁷ *locus*,⁶⁸ *donis*,⁶⁹ by association with other words in a series, *sum Salus, Fortuna, Lux, Laetitia, Gaudium*; ⁷⁰ *quisnam . . . ligavit Fortunam Invidiamque deus?*⁷¹ Likewise unfriendliness and hostility are shown by verb, *eripere*,⁷² *minetur*,⁷³ *metuont, omnes*,⁷⁴ *premis*,⁷⁵ *laccessit*,⁷⁶ *iactavit*; ⁷⁷ by verb and noun or pronoun, *cui te exitio reservat*,⁷⁸ *casum minaris*,⁷⁹ *contraxit vultum*,⁸⁰ *quos Fortuna suis pulverulentat equis*,⁸¹ *evertit domos*,⁸² *Fortuna adversa foventem*.⁸³ Favor and mercy are indicated by such verbs and expressions as *faveat*,⁸⁴ *fovebat*,⁸⁵ *haud uno contenta favore*,⁸⁶ *erubuit spoliare*,⁸⁷ *timuit . . . querellas*.⁸⁸ Fortuna appears imperious and arbitrary in: *imperia excelsa Fortunae obicient*,⁸⁹ *imperii tui*,⁹⁰ *arbitriis tempus dispensat iniquis*,⁹¹ *iniusto arbitrio*; ⁹² harmful or envious in: *obesse nulli contenta est semel*,⁹³ *medioque rates quaerit in alto*,⁹⁴ *constans et bene certa nocet*,⁹⁵ *invidit mihi*,⁹⁶ *nec commodat invidiam*.⁹⁷ In many instances we may learn Fortuna's character only by examining the entire context, as in Cæsar's words at the Rubicon, *te, Fortuna, sequor*; ⁹⁸ in Turnus' reply to the proposed combat with Aeneas, *neque habet Fortuna regressum*; ⁹⁹ in Andromache's resignation in the presence of Ulysses, *regnum Troiae quocumque volet, Fortuna ferat*.¹⁰⁰

⁶³ Hor. *Ep.*, I, 11, 20.⁶⁴ Lucan, VII, 110.⁶⁵ Hor. *Sat.*, II, 6, 49; *Phaed.*, IV, 12, 5.⁶⁶ P. L. M., III, 236.⁶⁷ Stat. *Silv.*, V, 1, 137.⁶⁸ Sil. Ital., XII, 554.⁶⁹ T. R. F., p. 263.⁷⁰ Sen. *Oct.*, 479.⁷¹ Verg. *Aen.*, VIII, 578.⁷² A. L., II, 365.⁷³ Sil. Ital., VII, 10.⁷⁴ Sil. Ital., XI, 39.⁷⁵ Stat. *Silv.*, I, 4, 5.⁷⁶ Sen. *Oct.*, 6.⁷⁷ P. L. M., I, p. 117.⁷⁸ Syrus, 183.⁷⁹ Ovid, *Ep. ex Pont.*, II, 7, 22.⁸⁰ Lucan, I, 84.⁸¹ Verg. *Aen.*, XI, 413.⁸² Ovid, *Meta.*, X, 603.⁸³ Hor. *Ep.*, I, 12, 9.⁸⁴ Manil., III, 192.⁸⁵ Plaut. *Capt.*, 864.⁸⁶ T. R. F., p. 250.⁸⁷ C. L. E., I, p. 239.⁸⁸ Lucan, II, 256.⁸⁹ Verg. *Aen.*, V, 625.⁹⁰ Ovid, *Ep. ex Pont.*, IV, 3, 7.⁹¹ Sen. *Oct.*, 898.⁹² Ovid, *Meta.*, XIII, 33.⁹³ Sil. Ital., XVI, 29.⁹⁴ Mart., I, 12, 10.⁹⁵ Stat. *Silv.*, V, 5, 60.⁹⁶ A. L., II, 96.⁹⁷ Sen. *H. O.*, 697.⁹⁸ Verg. *Aen.*, XI, 43.⁹⁹ Lucan, I, 226.¹⁰⁰ Sen. *Tr.*, 735.

We turn now to some of Fortuna's more general qualities, e. g., her power over human affairs, *fingit artatque ut lubet*;¹⁰¹ she prevails over the wisdom of a hundred sages, *centum doctum hominum consilia devincit*;¹⁰² can exalt from the humblest station or change the proud triumphal procession to a funeral train.¹⁰³ But as an exception to the general view Juvenal twice expressly denies not only Fortuna's power but her existence as a goddess of chance, where wisdom exists; it is man who deifies and enshrines her in Heaven:

nullum numen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.¹⁰⁴

She is frequently represented as helpful,¹⁰⁵ proverbially so to the brave¹⁰⁶ and daring,¹⁰⁷ but scorns the supplications of the craven, *ignavis precibus repugnat*.¹⁰⁸ She is often blind,¹⁰⁹ and, if we accept the proverb,¹¹⁰ makes others blind, but according to Cato blindness is a characteristic of man, not of Fortuna:

Cum sis incautus nec rem ratione gubernes,
noli Fortunam, quae non est, dicere caecam.¹¹¹

A favorite conception is that Fortuna is deceitful, faithless,—*cum blanditur, capatatum venit*;¹¹² *spondet multa multis praestat nemini*;¹¹³ *nec ulli praestat fidem*.¹¹⁴ She delights in mockery and in making man the victim of her sport, *extollit quotiens voluit iocari*;¹¹⁵ *ludum insolentem ludere pertinax*;¹¹⁶ *lusit et in soldio*

¹⁰¹ Plaut. *Capt.*, 304.

¹⁰² Plaut. *Pseud.*, 607.

¹⁰³ Hor. *Odes*, I, 35, 3 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Juv., x, 365-6 = XIV, 315-16.

¹⁰⁵ Ovid, *Trist.*, I, 5, 27; Stat. *Achill.*, I, 738; Ovid, *Meta.*, v, 140.

¹⁰⁶ Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, s. v.; Ter. *Phorm.*, 203.

¹⁰⁷ Verg. *Aen.*, x, 284; A. L., I, p. 43; Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 782; *Ars Amat.*, I, 608; Claud. *Carm. Minor.*, 41, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Ovid, *Meta.*, VIII, 73.

¹⁰⁹ Pacuvius (*T. R. F.*, p. 114); Stat. *Silv.*, II, 6, 7; Sen. *Phoen.*, 632; *Phaedr.*, 980; *P. L. M.*, I, p. 117.

¹¹⁰ See Otto, *op. cit.*

¹¹¹ *Catonis Disticha* (*P. L. M.*, III, p. 230).

¹¹² Syrus, 167.

¹¹³ C. L. E., I, p. 90.

¹¹⁴ Sen. *Phaedr.*, 1143.

¹¹⁵ Juv., III, 40.

¹¹⁶ Hor. *Odes*, III, 29, 50.

rursus locavit,¹¹⁷ *ista iocandi saevitia*.¹¹⁸ The following lines refer to one who inspired great hopes, but alas!

more suo homines Fors perdita semper
monstratas rapuit spes properante die.¹¹⁹

But the most prevalent view of Fortuna is that she is fickle, changeable, inconstant, capricious. This is apparent not only in the wide range of examples showing these qualities, and in the frequent allusion to her symbols, the wheel and globe or ball, but from such a poem as the following, which gives in detail most of her bad characteristics, including those just mentioned,

O Fortuna potens et nimium levis,
Tantum iuris atrox quae tibi vindicas,
Evertisque bonos, erigis improbos,
Nec servare potes muneribus fidem!
Fortuna immeritos auget honoribus,
Fortuna innocuos cladibus afficit.
Iustos illa viros pauperie gravat,
Indignos eadem divitiis beat.
Haec aufert iuvenes ac retinet senes,
Iniusto arbitrio tempora dividens.
Quod dignis admit, transit ad impios.
Nec discrimen habet rectaque iudicat,
Inconstans fragilis perfida lubrica.
Nec quos clarificat, perpetuo fovet,
Nec quos deseruit, perpetuo permit.¹²⁰

Fortuna is constant only in her inconstancy,

passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat
et manet in nullo certa tenaxque loco,
sed modo laeta venit, vultus modo sumit acerbos
et tantum constans in levitate sua est.¹²¹

She shifts her fickle honors kind now to one, now to another,

Transmutat incertos honores
Nunc mihi nunc alii benigna.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Verg. *Aen.*, XI, 427; *A. L.*, I, p. 34.

¹¹⁸ Claud. in *Eutrop.*, I, 24.

¹¹⁹ *O. L. E.*, II, p. 677.

¹²⁰ *A. L.*, II, p. 96 f.

¹²¹ Ovid, *Trist.*, v, 8, 15 ff.; cf. *P. L. M.*, IV, p. 67, *huc semper constans, quod fugit atque redit*.

¹²² Hor. *Odes*, III, 29, 51 f.

Future hopes and princely state fickle Fortuna disturbs with change-
ful lot,

per spes futuras perque regnorum status
Fortuna varia dubia quos agitat vice.¹²³

Her favorite loaded with wealth of spoil and gift, the hell-boat anon
will carry empty-handed away,

modo quem Fortuna fovendo
congestis opibus donisque refert opimis,
nudum Tartarea portabit navita cymba.¹²⁴

In a moment she makes and unmakes kings,

hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.¹²⁵

And whatever Fortuna raises on high, she lifts but to bring low,

Quidquid in altum Fortuna tulit
ruitura levat.¹²⁶

She gives and takes away as she wills, and he becomes a beggar who
was but now a Croesus,

Irus et est subito, qui modo Croesus erat.¹²⁷

If she wills, from a rhetorician you become a consul and from a
consul a rhetorician again,

si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor.¹²⁸

Old faith she changes for the new,

Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.¹²⁹

And soon asks back what she has given,

Levis est Fortuna: cito reposcit quod dedit.¹³⁰

Joye that she gives are suddenly snatched away and fond wishes are
turned to grief,

Gaudia que dederat rapuit Fortuna repente
Inque acres luctus convertit vota parentum.¹³¹

¹²³ Sen. *Med.*, 286 f.

¹²⁵ Hor. *Odes*, I, 34, 14 ff.

¹²⁷ Ovid, *Trist.*, III, 7, 41-2.

¹²⁸ Verg. *Aen.*, v, 604.

¹³¹ C. L. E., I, 274.

¹²⁴ Sil. Ital., v, 265 ff.

¹²⁶ Sen. *Ag.*, 101 f.

¹²⁹ Juv., VII, 197-8.

¹³⁰ Syrus, 295.

Reference to the globe or ball of Fortuna in classical literature occurs most often in Greek authors and disappears soon after the third century B. C.¹³³ In Latin poetry I have discovered but one example. In this Fortuna is represented as standing on a revolving ball of stone and rising or falling as chance impels:

Saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubili:
Id quo saxum impluerit fors, eo cadere Fortunam autumant.¹³⁴

The wheel of Fortune does not occur in Latin literature until the Ciceronian age,¹³⁴ but in the Augustan period references are plentiful, and extremely so in the Middle ages and the Renaissance. Representations were frequent in the time of the Antonines.¹³⁵ The earliest example in Latin poetry is in Tibullus, whose (now favored) rival for Delia's affection is warned,

at tu qui potior nunc es, mea fata timeto:
versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae.¹³⁶

Ovid reminds an inconstant friend of the changeable goddess who stands on the moving wheel, the top of which she ever keeps under her unsteady foot,

haec dea non stabili, quam sit levis, orbe fatetur,
quem summum dubio sub pede semper habet.¹³⁷

He asks an enemy who himself may yet know misfortune,

nec metuis dubio Fortunae stantis in orbe
numen et exosae verba superba deae? ¹³⁸

But says of a faithful and constant friend,

scilicet indigum, iuvenis carissime, ducis
te fieri comitem stantis in orbe deae.¹³⁹

Cynthia is faithless, but Propertius is not without hope, for

omnia vertuntur; certe vertuntur amores;
vinceris aut vincis haec in amore rota est.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ See Smith, *Elegies of Tibullus*, 1913 (on 1, 5, 70).

¹³⁴ *T. R. F.*, I, p. 144.

¹³⁵ Cic. in *Pison.*, 22, *Fortunae rotam pertimescebat.*

¹³⁶ Fronto, 157, Naber.

¹³⁶ I, 5, 70.

¹³⁷ *Ep. ex Pont.*, IV, 3, 31-2.

¹³⁸ *Trist.*, v, 8, 7 f.

¹³⁹ *Ep. ex Pont.*, II, 3, 55 f.

¹⁴⁰ Prop., II, 8, 7 f.

Horace bids Lyce lay aside the pride which Venus hates, lest her fortune have a change,

Ne currente retro funis eat rota.¹⁴¹

Phaedrus gives the moral of Ixion and his wheel,

Ixion quod versari narratur rota
volubilem Fortunam iactari docet.¹⁴²

Fortuna stands on uncertain footing, and, when you least expect it, she gives the wheel a turn,

Tuta nec in solido rerum Fortuna favore est;
cum minime credas, impulit illa rotam.¹⁴³

Let no man trust prosperity all too much, nor let him despair of better things when better fortune has slipped away, for

Miscet haec illis prohibetque Clotho
stare fortunam, rotat omne fatum.¹⁴⁴

The second and largest class of examples, 495 in number, is that in which *fortuna* represents the abstract principle or personification of luck, accident, the incalculable element in nature and human life,¹⁴⁵ etc.

¹⁴¹ *Odes*, III, 10, 10. Despite the partially changed symbolism this line in its general aspect seems to me to be an allusion to Fortune's wheel. See, however, the edition of Shorey, who cites evidence of a Greek proverb and explains the figure: "the handle of a windlass with which one is raising a weight slips, and the wheel and rope run back."

¹⁴² *Fables*, App., 5, 3.

¹⁴³ *A. L.*, II, p. 355 = *P. L. M.*, v, p. 417.

¹⁴⁴ *Sen. Thy.*, 617-18; see also *H. O.*, 703 *quae te fortuna rotat? Ag.*, 72 *ut regum casus Fortuna rotat*. Other references are: *Avianus*, 8, 3; *A. L.*, II, 208 = *P. L. M.*, III, 164; *A. L.*, II, 361 = *P. L. M.*, v, 422; *Sil. Ital.*, VI, 121; *Auson. Parentalia*, XXII, 13; *Claudian, de Bell. Goth.*, 632.

¹⁴⁵ The line of separation between such examples and those in which *fortuna* is identified with the divinity presiding over luck, chance, etc., is often one of the individual point of view, and it will be found that editors show variation in their conception of a given passage. Cf. note 9 above. The plural is found occasionally in comedy (*Plaut. Cist.*, 557, *Stich.*, 300; *Ter. And.*, 97, 609, *Phorm.*, 201, 473) with little or no difference from the singular. Its greater emphasis (claimed by Donatus on *And.*, 97) is not apparent in most cases.

As in the examples of the first class, so here in most instances, only the bare context shows whether the meaning is good or bad, favorable or un-

This general meaning is so evident in the majority of instances as to make comment and citation unnecessary. As variations and extensions may be noted that of favorable crisis or turn for the better, as in the cry of despair amid the perils of shipwreck:

*nulle placatae veniet fortuna procellae?*¹⁴⁸

and in Vergil's teaching that change in the noisome distemper of the flock is at hand,

*non tamen ulla magis praesens fortuna laborum est,*¹⁴⁹

when one has boldly lanced with steel the ulcer's head. Sometimes the sense is that of favorable opportunity, e. g., when the immortal warriors Nisus and Euryalus beg leave to go in quest of Aeneas and take the walls of Pallanteum,

*si fortuna permittitis uti
quaestitum Aenean et moenia Pallantea;*¹⁴⁸

or of success, as when Aeneas shaking his fatal spear before the shrinking Turnus marks with eye the point where his weapon can successfully pierce his enemy's armour,

*cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
sortitus fortunam oculis, . . .*¹⁴⁹

Not infrequently the meaning passes into that of fate, destiny, outcome, will of deity, etc. Venus found solace for the fall of Troy by balancing the city's fate with the destined landing of her Trojans in Italy, but alas!

*nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos
insequitur.*¹⁵⁰

"Long life and happiness" is the wish of Aeneas to Hellenus and

favorable, etc. However, occasionally an accompanying adjective tells the story. I note 46 such with a total of 67 occurrences: *adversa, aequa, anceps, anetina, auxilians, bona, caeca, deceptura, dubia, famulans, felix, ferox, gravis, gubernans, gubernatrix, impatiens, improba, incerta, indignans, infida, influens, inimica, iniqua, lenta, levis, magna, mala, malignior, manca, melior, misera, omnipotens, plena, potens, praeceps, prava, propria, prospera, pulchrior, ruens, saeva, secunda, sinistra, tenax, tristis, vitrea.*

¹⁴⁸ Prop., I, 17, 7.

¹⁴⁹ Georg., III, 452.

¹⁵⁰ Aen., XII, 919.

¹⁴⁸ Aen., IX, 241-2.

¹⁵⁰ Aen., I, 240.

Andromache, whose destined course is already accomplished while he and his companions are still summoned from fate to fate:

vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
iam sua; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.¹⁵¹

It is the fate of Priam that the old cyclic writer would sing;¹⁵² that of Pompey and Cæsar hangs in the balance;¹⁵³ the destiny of impending death overtakes Curio;¹⁵⁴ the outcome of war hangs ever in doubtful scale;¹⁵⁵ Ajax's encounter with Hector issues in victory.¹⁵⁶ In Vergil when it is a matter of Rome's or Troy's heroes *fortuna* means Fate or Providence, the will of Jupiter as favorable to the Roman state, as representing the divine government of the universe. Venus would accept Juno's proposal for the marriage of Aeneas and Dido,

si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur;¹⁵⁷

Aeneas plans to run a true course to Italy, but with resignation turns the fleet toward Sicily,

superat quoniam fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat, vertamus iter.¹⁵⁸

Likewise Nautes, priest of Pallas, counsels Aeneas to follow divine guidance, whether it draw the Trojans toward Italy or repel them from it:

nate dea, quo fata trahunt, retrahuntque, sequamur;
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.¹⁵⁹

Evander explains to Aeneas that his own exile and settlement in Italy are due to the all-disposing power of destiny,

fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum,¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ *Aen.*, III, 493. Other instances in which *fortuna* is closely associated with *fata* are: *Aen.*, VI, 682, Lucan, VIII, 701, Sen. *Oct.*, 253, *P. L. M.*, IV, 166; with *virtus*: Catull., 64, 218, Stat. *Theb.*, II, 178: Claud. *Cons. Olyb. et Prob.*, I, 38, Syrus, 641.

¹⁵² Hor. *A. P.*, 137.

¹⁵³ Lucan, VII, 815.

¹⁵⁴ Ovid, *Meta.*, XIII, 90.

¹⁵⁵ *Aen.*, V, 22.

¹⁵⁶ *Aen.*, VIII, 334.

¹⁵⁷ Lucan, II, 41.

¹⁵⁸ Sen. *Phoen.*, 629.

¹⁵⁹ *Aen.*, IV, 109.

¹⁶⁰ *Aen.*, V, 709-10.

and Venus importunes Jupiter to let her send Ascanius away safe from war, but as for Aeneas,

sane ignotis iactetur in undis
et quamcumque viam dederit fortuna sequatur.¹⁶¹

But destiny is also conceived of as independent of Jupiter, who, despite the entreaties of Venus and Juno, declines to favor Trojan or Rutulian:

sua cuique exorsa laborem
fortunamque ferent. rex Iuppiter omnibus idem.
fata viam invenient.¹⁶²

The meaning of lot, condition, state, circumstances, station, etc., is apparent in the 158 examples of the third class. In a few of these the plural is found,¹⁶³ sometimes to give greater concreteness, sometimes with no appreciable difference from the singular. With reference to the connotation of good or bad, favorable or unfavorable, etc., as shown by context and epithet,¹⁶⁴ the examples are about equally divided, and for the most part do not require comment. In general the lot or condition or state is good, easy, prosperous, happy, high, humble, sad, wretched, hard, mean, etc. It may take the special sense of a prosperous voyage,¹⁶⁵ of high or distinguished birth,¹⁶⁶ of royalty or sovereignty,¹⁶⁷ of a slave's rank,¹⁶⁸ of dress,¹⁶⁹ of training and discipline,¹⁷⁰ of past prosperity,¹⁷¹ of filial devotion,¹⁷² of a blissful state,¹⁷³ of private as opposed to official sta-

¹⁶¹ *Aen.*, x, 49.

¹⁶² *Aen.*, x, 111 ff.

¹⁶³ *Plaut. Capt.*, 958, *Rud.*, 523, *Truc.*, 373, *Asin.*, 629. *Cist.*, 114, *Miles*, 125, *Cas.*, 161, *Stich.*, 300; *Lucret.*, i, 106, ii, 1167, v, 1179; *Ovid, Trist.*, iv, 5, 2; *Juv.*, xiv, 113; *Phaed.*, iv, 17, 1.

¹⁶⁴ In addition to adjectives already cited I find only: *ardua*, *dulcis*, *humilis*, *ingens*, *iacens*, *inmunda*, *parva*, *sublimis*, *tenuis*.

¹⁶⁵ *Catull.*, 64, 22.

¹⁶⁶ *Ovid, Ep. ex Pont.*, ii, 9, 13; *Juv.*, viii, 74; *Stat. Silv.*, ii, 1, 137.

¹⁶⁷ *Sen. Oed.*, 674, *Oct.*, 91; *Ovid, Ep. ex Pont.*, iii, 4, 110.

¹⁶⁸ *Plaut. Most.*, 45; *Stat. Silv.*, vi, 2, 9.

¹⁶⁹ *Plaut. Cist.*, 114.

¹⁷⁰ *Stat. Silv.*, v, 2, 77.

¹⁷¹ *Verg. Aen.*, vii, 243.

¹⁷² *Stat. Silv.*, iii, 3, 45.

¹⁷³ *Lucret.*, v, 1179; *C. L. E.*, i, pp. 210, 224, 225, 382.

tion.¹⁷⁴ To be noted also is the frequent extension of meaning where *fortuna* is used in the sense of wealth,¹⁷⁵ property,¹⁷⁶ prosperity,¹⁷⁷

Finally, looking at individual writers as to the relative frequency of *fortuna* in all its meanings we discover considerable differences, due for the most part to the department represented and to the author's preference for rhetorical expression. It is found most often in the epic. The *Aeneid* shows more than 60 examples. In Lucan's *Pharsalia* with 144 occurrences, *fortuna* is mentioned or apostrophized from every point of view, and the work is thoroughly penetrated with the idea of fate and destiny. The *Bellum Punicum* of Silius Italicus, more than half as large again as the *Pharsalia*, has only 48 instances, the difference to be explained by the fact that Silius reveals little of Lucan's gifts of rhetoric and brilliancy of description, is lacking in bombast and exaggeration, and rarely apostrophizes on the issues of war and peace. The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, marking a reaction against the rhetoric of display, has few examples. Statius, except in the *Silvae*, in which he frequently finds it difficult to say things naturally, shows marked restraint as compared with Lucan. Seneca's tragedies, as we should expect from the department, from the author's fondness for rhetorical devices and from plays so permeated with stoical doctrines, have much to do with *fortuna*—73 examples. In comedy, including the fragments, and the plays of Plautus and Terence, there is a considerable use of *fortuna* in the ordinary sense of luck or chance, or as the goddess of chance, but all told there are only about one-half as many occurrences as in tragedy, including the fragments, and the plays of Seneca. Ovid, at once the most voluminous and most rhetorical of the elegiac writers, uses *fortuna* 117 times as against its appearance of about a dozen times in Propertius and twice in Tibullus. The word occurs only half as frequently in the satires of Horace as in the satires of Juvenal (21 instances). It is relatively infrequent in the lyrics of Horace, in the epigrams of Catullus and Martial, and in the didactic writings of Lucretius and Manilius.

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¹⁷⁴ Prop., III, 9, 2.

¹⁷⁵ Hor. *Epod.*, 4, 6; Lucan, VII, 743; Stat. *Silv.*, v, 3, 47; Manil., IV, 167; Juv., XIV, 113, 328; Ovid, *Trist.*, IV, 10, 8.

¹⁷⁶ Manil., III, 96; Hor. *Ep.*, I, 7, 54.

¹⁷⁷ Hor. *Odes*, I, 37, 11, *Ep.*, I, 5, 12; Verg. *Aen.*, III, 53; Juv., XVI, 34.

THE INFLUENCE OF BERNARD MANDEVILLE

BY F. B. KAYE

Even to scholars Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* is now little more than a name and the recollection of a long-dead scandal. Yet the book had an extraordinary effect on the history of thought, an effect international in scope and still felt. Indeed, so great was Mandeville's influence that he can, I believe, be shown to be a major dignitary of eighteenth century thought. To demonstrate this is the aim of the present paper.

After this introduction it may seem a humorous anti-climax to answer the question: What was *The Fable of the Bees*? but the way in which history has slighted the work renders such an answer necessary. The book opens with a twenty-page rhymed allegory called *The Grumbling Hive*, first published by itself in 1705. This hive is described as made up, like any human state, of the elements of selfishness, pride, ambition, viciousness, and dishonesty. Yet all this evil is the stuff out of which is made the complicated mechanism of a great and prosperous state with

Millions endeavouring to supply
Each other's Lust and Vanity (*Fable*, I, 3).¹

Indeed, it is precisely this lust and vanity, as it shows itself in the desire for power, the love of splendor, the round of fashions, and the give-and-take of prodigality and avarice, that is the motive force of the whole commonwealth.

Thus Vice murs'd Ingenuity,
Which join'd with Time and Industry,
Had carry'd Life's Conveniences,
Its real Pleasures, Comforts, Ease,
To such a Height, the very Poor
Liv'd better than the Rich before (*Fable*, I, 11).

The bees, however, are not satisfied to have their viciousness mixed with their prosperity. All the cheats and hypocrites disclaim

¹ My page references apply equally to a number of editions—to those of 1724, 1725, 1728, and 1732 of the first part, and to the editions of 1729 and 1733 of Part II of the *Fable*.

about the state of their country's morals, and pray the gods for honesty. This raises the indignation of Jove, who unexpectedly grants them their wish.

But, Oh ye Gods! What Consternation,
How vast and sudden was th' Alteration! (*Fable*, I, 13)

As Pride and Luxury decrease,
So by degrees they leave the Seas
All Arts and Crafts neglected lie;
Content, the Bane of Industry,
Makes 'em admire their homely Store,
And neither seek nor covet more (*Fable*, I, 21).

In this way, through the loss of its vices, the hive at the same time loses all its greatness.

Now comes the moral:

*Then leave Complaints: Fools only strive
To make a Great an Honest Hive.
T' enjoy the World's Conveniences,
Be fam'd in War, yet live in Ease,
Without great Vices, is a vain
EUTOPIA seated in the Brain.
Fraud, Luxury and Pride must live,
While we the Benefits receive
So Vice is beneficial found,
When it's by Justice lopt and bound;
Nay, where the people would be great,
As necessary to the State,
As Hunger is to make 'em eat* (*Fable*, I, 23-4).

In 1714 Mandeville republished *The Grumbling Hive* with a prose commentary of about two hundred pages appended. This commentary was in the form of some twenty essays—or "Remarks," as he called them—each Remark serving as note to some line or lines of the little rhymed allegory. This time he named his book *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices Publick Benefits*. In 1723 he added several new passages, among them two long prose essays (one of them an attack on charity schools); in 1724, he included a "Vindication" of his book from the attacks already accumulating; and in 1728 (by title-page, 1729) he published a Part II, of size equal to the first volume.

Obviously, such a framework gave Mandeville the opportunity of incorporating any thought he liked on any topic he liked; and he took advantage of the fact. An extraordinarily fertile speculator,

he throws out original or suggestive opinions—some of much interest—on education, evolution, feminism, criminology, medicine, duelling, vegetarianism, public stews, psychology, economics, French literature, and theology. Among his educational conceptions, for example, is a foreshadowing of the Montessori system (*Fable*, II, 183-5 and 211). Then, too, Mandeville's theories in Part II of the *Fable* concerning the evolution of society were quite extraordinary.² He seems unique at the time in appreciation of the great slowness of the thing, the small part in it played by the individual, the unsteadiness of its progression, and its control by physical law. A similar anticipatory modernity will be found in Mandeville's embryonic feminism.³ These, however, are side issues for this paper, and are noted merely in passing.

We shall be occupied here with Mandeville's influence in three fields only: literature, ethics, and economics.

I

Mandeville's purely literary influence was not considerable. The *Fable* had no direct imitators. Its influence was limited to the offering of tid-bits for amalgamation or paraphrase by other writers. Such an influence, however, it did have, and on some big figures—chiefly, Pope, Johnson, Adam Smith, and Voltaire. Pope paraphrased the *Fable* both in the *Moral Essays* and in the *Essay on Man*.⁴ The manuscript of the latter, it should also be noted, had,

² There are, before Mandeville, only embryonic and fragmentary considerations of the growth of society from an evolutionary point of view. Of the ancients (Horace, *Satires*, I, iii, Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, book 5, and Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, lines 442-506) Lucretius is the most elaborate. The moderns until Mandeville added nothing. There is either no or slight anticipation of Mandeville in Matthew Hale (*Primitive Origination of Man*), Bossuet (*Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, ed. 1845, pp. 9-10), or Temple (*Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government*); nor is he anticipated in such works as those of Giordano Bruno, Bodin, Thomas Burnet, Whiston, John Woodward, John Keill, or Vico.

³ See *Fable*, II, 187-9, and also the passage in Mandeville's *Virgin Unmask'd*, ed. 1724, pp. 115-7, beginning: "They have enslaved our Sex."

⁴ Elwin considers the following passages derived from Mandeville: *Moral Essays*, III, 13-14 and 25-26; *Essay on Man*, II, 129-30, 157-8, and 193-4. That the *Essay on Man*, II, 129-30 and 157-8, owes anything to Mandeville, however, is doubtful, although the other lines are probably Mandevillian.

instead of the present line II, 240, this direct paraphrase of the sub-title of the *Fable of the Bees*:

And public good extracts from private vice.

It is just possible also that Pope derived the famous "To err is human, to forgive, divine" from a passage in another well-known book by Mandeville—the *Free Thoughts*.⁵—Dr. Johnson, who said that Mandeville opened his views into real life very much,⁶ and whose economic theories were borrowed from Mandeville,⁷ limited his literary indebtedness to a passage in one of his *Idlers* (No. 34), which is a paraphrase of a witty portion of the *Fable* (I, 106), and to some able discussions with Boswell about the book.—Adam Smith's literary obligation extends to at least one famous passage, but this matter will be considered later as incidental to Smith's debt to Mandeville in the field of economics.—The literary borrowings of Voltaire, whose great general indebtedness will also be touched on later, consisted in the paraphrasing in French verse of some seven pages of the *Fable* (I, 190-6), Voltaire's poem being called *Le Marseillois et le Lion* (*Œuvres*, ed. Garnier, 1877-85, X, 140-8); and of passages in *Le Mondain* and the *Défense du Mondain*, and in the *Observations sur MM. Jean Lass, Melon et Dutot; sur le Commerce*, which have parallels in the *Fable*.⁸

All this, however, constitutes an unimportant phase of Mandeville's influence. His great effect was on ethics and economics, and a very practical effect it was; no mere interchange of theories, but one bound up with the destinies of England and of France.

Before undertaking an analysis of this effect, however, I wish to give some impression of the enormous vogue of the *Fable*, and the eighteenth century's interest in it, for in the light of this vogue points of relationship between the *Fable* and subsequent developments take on fuller significance.

The *Fable* first attracted attention in 1723, when Mandeville added to it his "Essay on Charity and Charity-Schools." There-

⁵ *Free Thoughts* (1729), p. 61: "If to err belongs to human frailty, let us bear with their errors."

⁶ Boswell, *Life*, ed. Hill, New York, 1889, III, 292.

⁷ See below, note 66.

⁸ Derivations from Mandeville in these three works are noted in André Morize's interesting dissertation, *L'Apologie du Luxe au XVIII^e Siècle et "Le Mondain" de Voltaire* (Paris, 1909).

upon, the newspapers focussed on it at once, and within a year whole books began to be aimed at it. At the same time the public commenced to exhaust an edition a year.⁹ Then it went into foreign editions.¹⁰ Meanwhile, other books by Mandeville were being frequently printed in England and, translated, on the Continent.¹¹ Moreover, his works must have been made familiar to thousands who never saw the books by the many reviews of them (often of considerable length) in periodicals such as the *Bibliothèque Britannique* and the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans*,¹² in theological bibliographies like those of Masch, Lilienthal, and Trinius, and in encyclopedias like *Chaufepié's* and the *General Dictionary*. The many attacks, also, on the *Fable* not only illustrated the fame of the book, but diffused this fame still further—a celebrity often commented on by contemporaries.¹³ The following is a partial list

⁹ New editions were published in 1724, 1725, 1728, 1729 and 1732 (all by Tonson), and of Part II in 1729, 1730, and 1733 (all by Roberts). Further editions appeared in 1734, 1755, 1772, 1795, and 1806.

¹⁰ French versions in 1740 and 1750; German versions in 1761 and 1818 and, possibly, 1817.

¹¹ The *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases* had three or four printings; the *Virgin Unmask'd*, at least five; the *Modest Defence of Publick Stews* at least six English editions and some nine French ones; the *Free Thoughts*, five English editions, one German edition, an edition in Dutch, and four in French.

¹² For instance, the *Bibliothèque Angloise* for 1725 gave the *Fable* 29 pages and Bluet's reply to the *Fable* the same amount of space; the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* for 1729 reviewed the *Fable* in 44 pages; the *Bibliothèque Britannique* in 1733 gave 52 pages to Mandeville's *Origin of Honour*; *Maendelyke Uittreksels* for 1723 devoted 71 pages to the *Free Thoughts*; and the *Mémoires de Trévoux* (1740) allotted the *Fable* over a hundred pages.

¹³ For instance: "La Pièce . . . fait grand bruit en Angleterre" (*Bibliothèque Angloise* for 1725, XIII, 99); "Avide lectum est in Anglia et non sine plausu receptum" (Reimarus, *Programma quo Fabulam de Apibus examinat*, 1726); "The *Fable* . . . a Book that has made so much Noise" (*Present State of the Republick of Letters* for 1728, II, 462); "La Fables des Abeilles a fait tant de bruit en Angleterre" (preface to French version of *Fable*, ed. 1740, I, i); "Nicht nur die Feinde der christlichen Religion, sondern auch viele Christen zählen ihn unter die recht grossen Geister" (J. F. Jacobi, *Betrachtungen über die weisen Absichten Gottes*, 1749); "Such is the system of Dr. Mandeville, which once made so much noise in the world" (Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. 1759, p. 486); "La fameuse fable des abeilles . . . fit un grand bruit en Angleterre" (Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Garnier, 1877-85, XVII, 29).

of some of the better known men who at some time gave him specific and often sustained attention: John Dennis,¹⁴ William Law,¹⁵ Reimarus,¹⁶ Hume,¹⁷ Berkeley,¹⁸ Hutcheson,¹⁹ Godwin,²⁰ John Brown,²¹ Fielding,²² Gibbon,²³ Diderot,²⁴ Holbach,²⁵ Rousseau,²⁶ Malthus,²⁷ James Mill,²⁸ Mackintosh,²⁹ Adam Smith,³⁰ Warburton,³¹ John Wesley,³² Herder,³³ Montesquieu,³⁴ Hazlitt,³⁵ and Bentham.³⁶

¹⁴ *Vice and Luxury Publick Mischiefs: or, Remarks on . . . the Fable of the Bees* (1724).

¹⁵ *Remarks upon . . . the Fable of the Bees* (1724).

¹⁶ *Programma quo Fabulam de Apibus examinat . . .* (1726).

¹⁷ *Essays*, ed. Green and Grose, 1889, I, 308-9.

¹⁸ *Aloiphron: or, the Minute Philosopher* (first and second dialogues); *Discourse Addressed to Magistrates*, 1736 (*Works*, ed. Fraser, Oxford, 1871, III, 424).

¹⁹ Letter in *London Journal* for Nov. 14 and 21, 1724; *Inquiry into the Original . . . of . . . Virtue . . . In which the Principles of . . . Shaftesbury are . . . defended against . . . the Fable of the Bees* (1725); three letters in the *Dublin Journal*, Feb. 5, 12, and 19, 1726—reprinted as the latter half of *Reflections upon Laughter, and Remarks upon the Fable of the Bees* (Glasgow, 1750).

²⁰ *Political Justice*—ed. 1793, II, 815; ed. 1796, II, 484-5, note.

²¹ *Estimate* (1758), II, 86; *On Honour* (1743), lines 176-9; *Essays on the Characteristics* (1751), in the second essay.

²² *Tom Jones*, book 6, chap. I; *Amelia*, book 3, chap 5; *Covent-Garden Journal*, ed. Jensen, New Haven, I, 258-263.

²³ *Memoirs*, ed. Hill, 1900, p. 23.

²⁴ *Œuvres*, ed. Assézat, Paris, x, 299 and iv, 102-3 (the latter sometimes attributed to Rousseau).

²⁵ *La Morale Universelle* (1820), I, xxi-xxiii.

²⁶ *Narcisse*, preface (*Œuvres*, ed. Petitain, 1859, v, 142). See also Masson's edition of the *Profession de Foi du Vicaire Savoyard*.

²⁷ *Essay on . . . Population*, ed. Bettany, 1890, p. 553, note.

²⁸ *Fragment on Mackintosh* (1835), pp. 55-63.

²⁹ "Disertation Second," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. 1842, I, 323.

³⁰ Letter in *Edinburgh Review* (1755), No. 1, pp. 63-79; *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), pp. 474-87 and 492.

³¹ *Divine Legation of Moses* (1846), I, 156ff.

³² Diary, entry for Apr. 14, 1756, and letter cited in Abbey's *English Church and its Bishops* (1887), I, 32.

³³ *Adrastea*, IV (2), 234-252.

³⁴ *De l'Esprit des Lois*, book 7, chap. 1.

³⁵ See index of Waller and Glover edition for some twenty-three references.

³⁶ *Works*, ed. Bowring, 1843, I, 49, note, and x, 73.

Some of these, such as Fielding, referred to him repeatedly, and some wrote whole books on him. William Law devoted a volume to him; so did John Dennis; and Francis Hutcheson, no mean figure in the history of philosophy, wrote two books against him; while Adam Smith allotted him half of a special article, and Berkeley, a dialogue.

Nor was this vogue merely academic. The *Fable of the Bees* made a public scandal, and reached through the resultant notoriety not only the public eye but the public emotion. Mandeville, with his teaching of the usefulness of vice, inherited the office of Lord High Bogey-man, which Hobbes had held in the preceding century. The *Fable* was twice presented by the Grand Jury as a public nuisance; minister and bishop alike denounced it from the pulpit.³⁷ The book, indeed, aroused positive consternation, ranging from the reprehension of Bishop Berkeley³⁸ to the horror of John Wesley,³⁹ who protests that not even Voltaire could have said so much for wickedness. In France, the *Fable* was actually ordered burned by the common hangman.⁴⁰

It would, in fact, be difficult to overrate the degree and extent of Mandeville's eighteenth-century fame. A letter of Wesley's,⁴¹ in 1750, indicates that the *Fable* was current in Ireland. In France, in 1765, we find Diderot complaining that the tenets of the book had become so familiar as to be a conversational nuisance.⁴² In 1768, the friend of Laurence Sterne, John Hall-Stevenson, thought a good title for one of his pieces would be "The New Fable of the Bees." As late, indeed, as 1787, and in America at that, the

³⁷ Some of the sermons against it that got into print were *The True Christian Method of Educating the Children both of the Poor and Rich*, preached in 1724 by Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man; Chandler's *Doing Good . . . an Answer to . . . the Fable of the Bees* (1728); a sermon delivered in 1727 by Isaac Watts (printed as *An Essay towards the Encouragement of Charity-Schools*, 1728); and Barnes's *Charity and Charity Schools Defended* (delivered 1724, printed 1727).

³⁸ *Works*, ed. Fraser, 1871, III, 424.

³⁹ *Journal*, ed. Curnock, IV, 157.

⁴⁰ G. Peignot, *Dictionnaire . . . des Principaux Livres Condamnés au Feu* (Paris, 1806), I, 282.

⁴¹ Cited in Abbey's *English Church and its Bishops* (1887), I, 32.

⁴² *Œuvres*, ed. Assézat, X, 299.

author of our first American comedy—a play meant for popular consumption⁴⁸—refers to Mandeville as if the latter's theories were as well known to the audience as the latest proclamation of General Washington.

This outline of Mandeville's vogue will serve as a prelude to the search into his specific influence, and may also give some initial intimations of the justification for the claims I made at the outset concerning his importance.

II

Now, to understand the effect which Mandeville exercised on ethical theory, it will be necessary to sketch briefly his general philosophical position. A good part of Mandeville will escape in the process: the wit, humor, and worldly-wise cynicism which gave his thought its edge must be omitted; but that cannot be helped.—Mandeville called his book "Private Vices, Publick Benefits." Now, by that he did not mean that all evil has a good side to it, and that this good outweighs the ill. His paradox turned, instead, on a matter of definition. He adopted certain current ethical conceptions as to the prerequisites of morality. But when he came rigorously to apply the definition of virtue which he had thus derived he found that the world did not furnish any examples of people who lived up to the definition, and thus it became an obvious deduction that, since all is vicious, even matters beneficial to us arise from vicious causes, and private vices are public benefits.

The conception of virtue propounded by Mandeville proclaimed, first, that no action was really virtuous if inspired by selfish emotion; and this assumption, since Mandeville considered all natural emotion fundamentally selfish, implied the ascetic position that no action was virtuous if done from natural impulse. Secondly, Mandeville's definition of virtue declared that no action was meritorious unless the motive that inspired it was a "rational" one. As Mandeville interpreted "rational" to imply an antithesis to emotion and self-regard, both aspects of his ethical code—the ascetic and the rationalistic—alike condemned as vicious all action

⁴⁸ Royall Tyler, *The Contrast*, III, ii.

whose dominant motive was natural impulse and self-regarding bias—or, to put it from a different angle, his code condemned all such acts as were caused by the traits man shared with the animals.

This conception of morality was no invention of Mandeville's. He merely adopted the creed of two great popular groups of the period. The first group comprised the theologians who, from the orthodox belief in the depravity of human nature, concluded naturally that virtue could not be found except in such action as unselfishly denied or transcended the working of the nature they condemned.⁴⁴ To all logical inferences from Mandeville's position as to the moral necessity of unselfishness and the conquest of natural impulse these ascetics were also fairly committed. The other group comprised the rationalistic or "intellectualistic" ethical thinkers, who identified morality with such action as proceeded from rational motives. This group was committed to conclusions logically deducible from Mandeville's position only in so far as, like him, they made an antithesis between reason and emotion; but, since this antithesis was very commonly made, at least implicitly,⁴⁵ these thinkers too were largely implicated in Mande-

⁴⁴ This was the respectable orthodox position. Thus Luther wrote, "All things in thyself are unrighteous, sinful, and damnable" (*Select Works*, trans. Cole, 1826, I, 13 and passim). And Calvin argued (*Institutes*, III, ix, 2), "For there is no medium between the two things: the earth must either be worthless in our estimation, or keep us enslaved by an intemperate love of it. Therefore, if we have any regard to eternity, we must carefully strive to disencumber ourselves of these fetters"; and he speaks (*Institutes*, III, ix, 3) of the "contempt which believers should train themselves to feel for the present life." This belief in the corruption of human nature the Synod of Dort authenticated as the official Protestant doctrine. It is found in representative moral works of all sorts. For example, in his *Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (Temple Classics, p. 68), Jeremy Taylor wrote, "He that would die holily and happily, must in this world love tears, humility, solitude, and repentance." In 1722, in his *Conscious Lovers* (III, i), Steele satirized this attitude as if it were of general currency: "To love is a passion, 'tis a desire, and we must have no desires."

⁴⁵ Rationalism, of one aspect or another, in seventeenth and eighteenth century ethics was, it is almost unnecessary to note, very marked, whether in a writer such as the Cambridge Platonist Culverwel, who states (*Of the Light of Nature*, ed. Brown, 1857, p. 66) that "the law of nature is built upon reason," or in a more systematic thinker like the "intellectualist" Samuel Clarke, who argues (*Works*, ed. 1738, II, 50-1): "From this first,

ville's conclusions. The implications, then, which Mandeville was to deduce from the rigorous application of his definition of virtue were such as could genuinely involve and provoke the thought of his day.

The conclusion reached by Mandeville that all human action is at bottom vicious was attained by a psychological analysis of human

original, and literal signification of the words, *Flesh* and *Spirit*; the same Terms have, by a very easy and natural figure of Speech, been extended to signify *All Vice* and *All Virtue* in general; as having their Root and Foundation, one in the prevailing of different *Passions and Desires* over the Dictates of *Reason*, and the other in the Dominion of *Reason and Religion* over all the irregularities of *Desires and Passions*. Every *Vice*, and every instance of *Wickedness*, of whatever kind it be; has its Foundation in some *unreasonable Appetite* or *ungoverned Passion*, warring against the *Law of the Mind*." And again—"All Religion or Virtue, consists in the Love of Truth, and in the Free Choice and Practice of Right, and in being influenced regularly by rational and moral Motives" (*Sermons*, ed. 1742, I, 457). Even so empirical a thinker as Locke holds, in contradiction to his main philosophy, that a complete morality can be derived by the exercise of pure ratiocination from general *a priori* principles, without reference to concrete circumstances; and Spinoza also, who had placed so great a stress on the dependence of thought upon feeling, nevertheless attempts to demonstrate his ethics "ordine geometrico."

However, although the general thought identified virtue with conduct in accord with "reason," "reason" was usually an ill-defined and contradictorily employed term. The ethical rationalism of the period implied, first, that the organization of the universe was a geometrically rational one, and that, therefore, moral laws were the "immutable and eternal" affairs whose disconnection with the facts of human nature Fielding was later to ridicule in *Tom Jones*. To such a conception the tastes and emotions in which men differed from one another were either irritating or negligible; and its stress was naturally laid upon the abstract, rational relationships which were true alike of all men. To this conception, therefore, "reason" tended to imply an antithesis to taste and individual impulse.

Secondly, the ethical rationalism of the day insisted that acts were virtuous only if their motivation was from "reason." It is at this point—the phase of rationalistic ethics of chief importance in relation to Mandeville—that current philosophy was most inchoate. No real attempt was usually made to define motivation by "reason." "Reason" sometimes implied any practical action, sometimes a proper blend of deliberation and impulse, and very often, indeed, it was used, as Mandeville used it, in connection with acts the decision to perform which was not determined by emotional or personal bias (which might, however, provided it did not determine the will to act, legitimately accompany the action). Again and

emotions and their relation to opinion never before equalled, except possibly by Spinoza, for scientific penetration and completeness. I shall not here attempt to detail the examination through which Mandeville reached the conclusions that reason is not a determinant factor in men's actions, our most elaborate and apparently detached ratiocination being basically only a rationalizing and excusing of the demands of dominant emotions; that all our acts—even those apparently most altruistic and unselfish—are traced to their source,

again it is manifest upon analysis that action according to reason is thought of (even by thinkers who sometimes take a different position) as action done despite the insistence of natural impulse and self-regarding bias, in spite of one's animal nature. Sometimes the writer makes this antithesis comparatively obvious, as when Culverwel reasons: "Yet grant that the several multitudes, all the species of these irrational creatures [animals] were all without spot or blemish in . . . their sensitive conversation, can any therefore fancy that they dress themselves by the glass of a [moral] law? Is it not rather a faithfulness to their own natural inclinations? . . . A law is founded in intellectuals, in the reason, not in the sensitive principle" (*Of the Light of Nature*, ed. Brown, 1857, p. 62). The tendency of the rationalistic school to make reason a quite abstract function is illustrated in the work of Mandeville's contemporary Wollaston, whose rationalistic *Natural Religion Delineated* considered virtue simply as truth, and vice as untruth. The antithesis between reason and natural impulse is very sharp and explicit in Richard Price, who summed up the principles of the "intellectualist" school of which he was a belated member in the statement that "*instinctive benevolence* is no principle of virtue, nor are any actions flowing merely from it virtuous. As far as this influences, so far something else than reason and goodness influence, and so much I think is to be subtracted from the moral worth of any action or character" (*Review of the Principle Questions in Morals*, ed. 1787, pp. 323-4).

There were certain characteristics of the ethical rationalism of the day which explain and illustrate the tendency to disassociate reason and feeling. In the first place, rationalism was from one aspect transcendental. With its stress on "immutable and eternal laws" of right and wrong and its love of the formulable, it was largely an attempt to transcend the merely relative, and hence personal and individual emotions. Like the theological asceticism of its day (see above, note 44), it was a method of transcending concrete human nature. Secondly, it could hardly help being affected by this current theological asceticism and its condemnation of natural impulse, especially since so many rationalists were also theologians. The tendency to identify the theological and the rationalistic attitudes is evidenced in the prayer with which Thomas Burnet closed the second book of his *Theory of the Earth*: "*MAY we, in the mean time, by a true Love of God above all things, and a contempt of this Vain World which passeth*

due to some variety or interplay of selfish emotion; that man, after all, is only "the most perfect of animals" (*Fable*, I, 31) and, no matter how much trained and preached at, can never transcend or contradict this fact. It is enough to note that he found his ethical code impossible of achievement, and, therefore, advised all pretenders to statesmanship not to worry about unselfishness and "rationality," but to content themselves with so ordering things that there should be such proper mixture of various self-counter-acting selfish passions as would produce harmonious results. For practical purposes, then, Mandeville offered, not rigorism, but utilitarianism⁴⁶ as a guiding principle to the actual worldly world.

away; By a careful use of the Gifts of God and Nature, the Light of Reason and Revelation, prepare our selves . . . for the great Coming of our Saviour." Note the paralleling of "a contempt for this Vain World" with "the Light of Reason." In the third place, because of the problem of the soul a sharp distinction was drawn between man and the animals. The belief that animals have no soul (rational principle) combined with the conviction that the soul is the ultimately important thing tended naturally to cause contempt for the animal functions and a belief that they could form no ingredient in virtue. Berkeley illustrates this tendency when, in his reply to Mandeville (*Alciphron*), he says, "Considered in that light [as he is an animal], he [man] hath no sense of duty, no notion of virtue" (*Works*, ed. Fraser, 1871, II, 81). Finally, to cause too sharp an antithesis between the conceptions of reason and feeling there was the all important fact of mental and literary inexactness, of failure to make and maintain proper distinctions. Since Mandeville's day philosophical speculation, to an appreciable extent on his account (see below, note 53), has become more precise as regards the distinction between reason and feeling, but in his time it so generally fell into assertions or implications of an antithesis between reason and impulse, even in the face of speculations in the same work maintaining an opposite position, that so great a thinker as Spinoza was not entirely exempt from the contagion, as is apparent in his *Ethica*, part 4, props. 53 and 56.

From the above it may be seen that, even though the position taken by Mandeville that no conduct can be virtuous unless the will to perform it was undetermined by natural impulse and selfishness may have been somewhat more extreme than the average, yet it is evident that his position was none the less in accord with a great body of contemporary theory. And, indeed, this close relation to his age is demonstrated by the violence of the popular reaction to his book.

"I use the term "utilitarian" in a looser sense than that in which specialists in philosophy ordinarily employ it. I use it as a blanket term for such teleological forms of ethics as eudaemonism and universal hedon-

And he felt it a pretty good world, too, in which, although abstract virtue might be absent, yet human self-seeking, properly controlled, could be made to produce a prosperous and happy state of affairs.

But then came the paradox. All this actual scheme of things, although it produces or can be made to produce such pleasant results, is, he announced, wrong, because not in accord with the demands of rigoristic morality. The passions are indispensable to proper conduct, but they are wicked. Prosperity is a pleasant thing, but it is evil. The utilitarian viewpoint is highly practical, but it will send you to Hell. Indeed, all the things which Mandeville has shown so necessary and desirable he then rejects as vicious. His philosophy, accordingly, has two aspects. First, he presents the actual world and how to get along in it, and after he has expounded the means of making it exceedingly pleasant, he places a candle snuffer on his previous thought by declaring that all these good things of the world are vicious because not based and impossible of being based on the rigoristic demand for unselfishness and rationally motivated action. *The Fable of the Bees*, then, holds in solution two opposite points of view—the utilitarian and the rigoristic or formalistic.

By juxtaposing these two in this manner, Mandeville has achieved a latent *reductio ad absurdum* of the rigoristic point of view. But he never educed this *reductio ad absurdum*. Although he spent most of his book in the demonstration that a life regulated by the principles of rigoristic virtue is not only impossible but highly undesirable, he continued to announce the sanctity of the formalistic creed. This paradoxical ethical duet which Mandeville carried on with himself is the point to note here, for it is this fact which gives the clue to the influence on ethics which he exerted.

The attacks on Mandeville focus on this paradox, but the type of attack varies according to the intellectual leanings of the par-

ism; and intend by it always an opposition to the insistence of rigoristic or formalistic ethics—rationalistic or ascetic—that not results but motivation by right principle determines virtuousness. To have used the technical vocabulary of the philosophical specialist would have needlessly hampered the reader trained in other fields; and, besides, my non-technical use of the term parallels the condition of ethical theory in Mandeville's day, when utilitarian theory had not yet taken to itself the specific connotation it now has, but was thought of simply as an ethics whose moral touchstone was results and not abstract principle.

ticular polemicist. First there were the critics who, like William Law and John Dennis, adhered to the rigoristic school of ethics. On these the effect of the *Fable* was that of the insane root which takes the reason prisoner. William Law was almost alone in keeping his head, although not his temper. It was not merely the theories of Mandeville that caused this riot of reason, but the tone of the doctor's writing. Mandeville employed a humorously cynical downrighteness of statement that made him so provocative that even now, after two hundred years, he has kept almost unimpaired his ability to irritate those who disagree with him. But, apart from their expression, there was enough in Mandeville's tenets to upset those who believed virtue necessarily unselfish and rational. Mandeville accepted their own position to argue them into unbearable predicaments. He agreed that only such behaviour is virtuous as is motivated not by selfish emotion but through the conquest of one's natural impulses or through sheer respect for a moral code; and then he demonstrated that there can be no such conduct in this world. He admitted that a state based on selfishness is corrupt and that luxury is contrary to the Christian religion, and then he proceeded to show that all society must be based on selfishness and that no state can be great without luxury. He agreed that men must transcend their animal nature, and then he proved that it could not be done. In other words, he took advantage of his opponents' own standards to show them that according to these ideals they had never done a virtuous action in their lives, and that, even if these standards could be lived up to, they would inevitably cause the total collapse of society. Meanwhile Mandeville stood in the middle of this spectacle roaring with laughter; which did not help to soothe his critics.

The thing was like an argument between Bernard Shaw and a synod of revivalists. They lost their heads. If only Mandeville had accepted the *reductio ad absurdum* latent in his book and rejected the rigoristic system of ethics, things would have been simple for the William Laws. They would merely have rushed to the defense of their code, and been quite comfortable. But Mandeville didn't reject it; the force of his demonstration of the value of vice and impossibility of virtue rested on his accepting their position.

There were, therefore, only two rational ⁴⁷ courses open to the rigorists. They could argue, first, that Mandeville's vivisection of human nature was faulty and that men really can act in a manner fundamentally unselfish and rational. This they tried.⁴⁸ But Mandeville's analysis had been so keen and thorough that few of his opponents dared claim that they had demonstrated more than that in some few cases a man might conceivably be virtuous in their sense of the word. This was hardly very comforting, for it left them still drowning in a sea of *almost* undiluted iniquity.

The other method was to abandon the ascetic point of view and deny that only such actions were virtuous as were done from unselfish devotion to principle, and to call for another criterion of virtue. Now, the strange fact is that almost every rigorist who undertook to answer Mandeville did at some time or other in this fashion repudiate his own basal position.⁴⁹ William Law was

"I say "rational" advisedly. Many of Mandeville's attackers simply misunderstood him. They took his terms quite literally, interpreting "vice" as something contrary to the welfare of the individual practising it. From this they proved "by rule demonstrative" that vice must therefore be injurious to society, the sum of individuals. But, of course, Mandeville meant by vice not something harmful to its devotees, but something contrary to the dictates of a strictly rigoristic morality. John Dennis is a good example of the literal-minded whose attack on the *Fable* was largely an excited attempt to prove that if a thing has a bad effect it has an effect which is bad.

And then, besides the logomachy arising from a too literal reading of the *Fable*, much of the controversy was mere vituperation, as in Hendley's *Defence of the Charity-Schools. Wherein the Many False, Scandalous and Malicious Objections of those Advocates for Ignorance and Irreligion, the Author of the Fable of the Bees . . . are . . . answer'd* (1725).

⁴⁸Notably Hutcheson (*Inquiry into . . . Beauty and Virtue*). But Hutcheson's attempt to prove the fundamental benevolence of humanity is not entirely an attack on Mandeville's psychological analysis; it is largely a giving of different names to the same emotions. Hutcheson, like Mandeville, denied the possibility of entirely dispassionate action; and Mandeville, like Hutcheson, admitted the reality of the compassionate impulses. Mandeville, however, insisted on terming all natural emotions selfish, whereas Hutcheson defined some of them as altruistic.

As to the effects of distinguishing between selfish and unselfish natural impulse, see below, note 53.

⁴⁹That is, if he did not indulge merely in vituperation or in the misunderstanding considered above, note 47.

perhaps as staunch and unmitigated an ascetic as ever urged his dogmas on other people; to Law an act done simply because a person wanted to do it was *ipso facto* a bad act.⁵⁰ Yet Law, in his answer to the *Fable*, at times approaches the utilitarian position, and approves natural impulse.⁵¹

Law was typical. Of the rigorists who attack the *Fable* with any insight, almost all ⁵² are driven at some point or other to turn upon their own rigorism and to set up instead some form of utilitarianism; that is, to maintain that moral laws are justly to be shaped and qualified according to the human ends to be served, and to measure the service of these ends in terms of human happiness.⁵³

⁵⁰ See his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1727), *passim*.

⁵¹ *Remarks upon . . . the Fable of the Bees* (1724), pp. 33-37.

⁵² Examples of rigoristic critics thus forced to repudiate their position include Law, Dennis, Fiddes (*General Treatise of Morality*, 1724), and Bluet (*Enquiry whether . . . Virtue tends to . . . Benefit . . . of a People*, 1725).

⁵³ Of course there were ways for the rigorists to evade Mandeville's attack without quite giving up their position. Their very inconsistencies were a means of defense; and Mandeville, too, really had taken a rigoristic position more accentuated and bald than the average. But the devices by which the rigorists sought to defend themselves without shifting ground were a very incomplete defense. Thus, they argued that there was such a thing as morally neutral activity, and that, therefore, self-regarding action and natural impulse, while not sufficient by themselves for virtue, were not necessarily vicious. This destroyed Mandeville's demonstration that the rigoristic position implied everything to be necessarily vicious, but it left him able still to claim that nothing could be virtuous, moral neutrality being then the utter limit of moral achievement. This, of course, was hardly satisfactory to the rigorists. Similarly, the ascetics could and did argue that they did not deny the moral value of man's nature nor quite condemn selfishness—indeed, that, properly understood, man's real nature and greatest happiness is found only in obeying the *a priori* dictates of Heaven, and that, therefore, enlightened selfishness demands adherence to the rigoristic code. Not to notice the important shift of sense in the word "nature," it is enough to point out here that the "theological utilitarianism" here adopted is definitely an approach to more empirical utilitarianism, and, therefore, that here again Mandeville's pressure towards utilitarianism is only partially evaded. Again, the rigorists might deny, like non-rigorists such as Adam Smith, that all natural feeling was selfish, maintaining that some compassionate emotions were genuinely altruistic. But since they could not say this of all compassionate feeling (some of this being obviously a self-indulgence) they had to find a criterion to distinguish between selfish

On the other hand, there was another class of critics of the *Fable*, comprising those men by intellectual bias anti-rigoristic, like Hume and Adam Smith. These men took the *Fable* more calmly. Not holding the formalistic premise, they were not upset by Mandeville's deductions therefrom. They agreed with his analysis; but when he came to his rigoristic candle-snuffer and said, "All these good things are due to vice," they answered with Hume: If it be vice which produces all the good in the world, then there is something the matter with our terminology; such vice is not vice but good.⁵⁴ These critics then, simply accepted the *reductio ad absurdum* which Mandeville refused to educe, and, rejecting the formalism which gave rise to Mandeville's paradox, adopted instead a utilitarian scheme of ethics.

This may seem the simple and obvious thing to do. And it is simple and obvious now—after two hundred years. But in that simple and obvious step is the germ of the whole modern utilitarian movement; in that rejection of absolute *a priori* codes and that refusal to dis sever man from the animals is the core of the modern scientific, empirical attitude. With the solving of Mandeville's paradox, indeed, is bound up our whole present-day intellectual atmosphere, the development of which the utilitarian movement has done so much to foster.

and non-selfish compassionate emotion; and, a strictly rigoristic test being here not possible, a utilitarian criterion naturally forced itself upon them. And, waiving the efficacy of their replies to Mandeville, the very fact that they had to frame replies on profoundly significant ethical questions was itself a service to the progress of speculation. One may look long in pre-Mandevillian literature for such careful distinctions between reason and emotion and their respective virtuousness as Law, for example, is forced to make in his effort to show that Mandeville misunderstood the rigoristic position. Whether he misunderstood it or not, he forced its adherents to attempt a liberation of their creed from the contradictions and indefiniteness which by themselves had given enough ground for his satire.

And apart from the sheerly logical side of the matter, there was a psychological reason why the attempt to cope with Mandeville so weakened the power of the formalists. Formalism affirms its transcendence; it professes absoluteness. When, therefore, imperfection in a formalistic creed is sufficiently felt to induce a desire for modification, the impulsion to formalism—a craving for the absoluteness and perfection which the creed promised—is weakened at its source, for the creed is now seen to be somewhat a thing of uncertainty.

⁵⁴ See Hume, *Essays*, ed. Green and Grose, 1889, II, 178.

Now, recognition of the inexpediency of rigoristic codes, which recognition eventually led to the utilitarian movement, was to be found elsewhere than in Mandeville, and the Mandevillian paradox was to be found latent in every-day points of view; but it was in dealing with Mandeville's especially forceful statement of this paradox that the utilitarian leaders were first caused to solve it. It was Mandeville who furnished them the specific stimulus. Their first statements of the utilitarian theory will be found in those books of theirs which deal with Mandeville, and were largely evolved through the controversy. This is true of three who wrote of him at considerable length—Francis Hutcheson, John Brown, and Adam Smith, while, of the other major leaders of the utilitarian movement, Hume was acquainted with Mandeville, Bentham and Godwin praised him, and James Mill strongly defended him.⁵⁵ And, turning from the leaders to the intellectual soil upon which they had to work, it should be recalled that contemporary anti- or non-utilitarian opinion had been qualified, and thus prepared for change, by the insistent paradox of the *Fable*, the outstanding ethical irritant of its generation. The case might be put more formally: Mandeville's critics are forced in their consideration of him to adopt in common the utilitarian attitude. Yet these critics were very dissimilar thinkers. Their agreement, therefore, must in considerable measure have been due to the nature of the subject—the *Fable of the Bees*.

The paradox of the *Fable*, indeed, supplied a spur which, on contact, almost necessarily forced all groups toward utilitarianism; and the enormous vogue of the book, together with the facts that its paradox was based on dominant types of ethical theory and thus involved and affected their many adherents, and that the book was so studied and reacted to by the utilitarian leaders, is proof of how generally and efficaciously the spur was applied.

As a matter of fact Mandeville has an even fuller claim than this to be considered a prime mover in the development of modern utilitarianism: it was not only through forcing a solution of the paradox that private vices are public benefits that the *Fable* fathered the utilitarian philosophy; another salient feature of Mandeville's ethical scheme had effect of a similar sort. This feature can be

⁵⁵ For references see above, notes 19, 21, 30, 17, 36, 20, and 28.

equally well described as moral nihilism, philosophical anarchism, or pyrrhonism. In morals, declared Mandeville, there are no universally valid rules of conduct. No person believes one thing but someone professes the opposite; no nation approves one form of conduct but another nation as strongly condemns it. ". . . hunting after this *Pulchrum & Honestum* is not much better than a Wild-Goose-Chace" (*Fable*, I, 380). "What Mortal can decide which is the handsomest, abstract from the Mode in being, to wear great Buttons or small ones? . . . In Morals there is no greater Certainty" (*Fable*, I, 377-9).

How Mandeville reconciled this pyrrhonism with the rigoristic ethics which he accepted superficially and the utilitarianism which was basic in his thought need not concern us here. The point is that he put his denial of general moral standards with his usual pungency, and that it produced noticeable reactions in a number of his critics.⁵⁶ It affected them in much the same way that his famous paradox had. It presented what was to them an intolerable scheme of things, which, for their peace of mind and soul, they had to remodel. And this remodeling—the furnishing of those valid ethical standards whose existence Mandeville denied—led them either to assert some *a priori* code and to maintain a rigoristic scheme of ethics (in which case the other edge of Mandeville's blade—his paradox—drove them toward utilitarianism); or it caused them to appeal to the utility of actions to supply, for judging those actions, the moral criteria Mandeville denied.

Thus with a double lash Mandeville drove his critics toward utilitarianism. By making the rigoristic position intolerable and the anarchistic position plausible, he forced his readers to formulate a way out. He furnished the necessity which is the mother of invention.

Nor is this all; for not only did Mandeville have the effect of a horrible example by driving people away from the position he ostensibly supported; he must also have exercised the influence of a model to be copied. As I indicated earlier, he himself had adopted

⁵⁶ For instance, in Law (*Remarks*, section 3), Berkeley (*Works*, ed. Fraser, 1871, II, 76 and 82), Brown (*Essays*, second essay, section 4), Adam Smith (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. 1759, p. 474), and Fiddes (*General Treatise of Morality*, preface).

the utilitarian point of view, and his whole viewpoint and method is strongly empirical. Indeed, he gave the utilitarian principle one of its earliest statements in its modern form.⁵⁷ "If a Publick Act," he said, "taking in all its Consequences, really produces a greater Quantity of Good, it must, and ought to be term'd a good Act." And again, "No sinful Laws can be beneficial, and *vice versa*, . . . no beneficial Laws can be sinful."⁵⁸ Now, while I find no certain evidence of anyone's having copied directly after Mandeville's statements of the utilitarian philosophy, yet it is only rational to suppose that some of his myriad readers and students must have adopted such beliefs from the *Fable*.

Furthermore, considering the effect of the book on those who wrote about it, and its enormous vogue, it is only fair to assume that its influence was considerable on those who did not write about it. Such an influence would have been exerted not only through the *Fable* itself, but through the works of disciples and opponents. This last matter is not entirely conjectural. Bentham, for instance, said that one of the books which most affected him was the *De L'Esprit* of Helvétius.⁵⁹ Now, this book is in many ways simply a French paraphrase of the *Fable*.⁶⁰

This unspecific influence might be much further enlarged upon, but it is hardly worth the while thus to elaborate conjecture when

⁵⁷ Hutcheson's dictum that "that Action is best, which accomplishes the greatest Happiness for the greatest Numbers" (*Inquiry into . . . Beauty and Virtue*, ed. 1725, p. 164), was not pronounced till 1725.

⁵⁸ *Modest Defence of Publick Stews* (1724), pp. 68 and 69. Similar statements of the utilitarian position are found in the *Fable*, I, 274, II, 196, II, 333, and II, 335.

⁵⁹ See Leslie Stephen, *English Utilitarians* (1900), I, 177.

⁶⁰ Helvétius' derivation from Mandeville has been noted by Jodl, *Geschichte der Ethik* (Stuttgart, 1882), I, 189; Tabaraud, *Histoire Critique du Philosophisme Anglois* (1806), II, 186; Malesherbes (see Erdmann, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Berlin, 1870, II, 121); Morize, *L'Apolo- logie du Luxe* (1909), p. 69; Sakmann, *Bernard de Mandeville* (Freiburg, 1897), p. 212; Schlosser, *History of the Eighteenth Century* (1843-52), I, 50; Guyot, *La Science Économique* (1907), p. 8; Hasbach, "Les Fondements Philosophique de l'Économie Politique" (in *Revue d'Économie Politique* for 1893, VII, 785); Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (1872), II, 218; Robertson, *Short History of Freethought* (N. Y., 1906), II, 238. The Sorbonne blamed Helvétius' theories partly on Mandeville's teachings (see Sakmann, *Bernard de Mandeville*, p. 212).

the positive facts already noted suffice to prove the *Fable of the Bees* one of the most fundamental and persistent influences underlying the whole modern utilitarian movement.

III

Let us consider now Mandeville's effect on the course of economic theory, where his dominance was perhaps at its greatest.

One aspect of Mandeville's effect on the history of economic thought was his association with the famous division of labor theory. It is generally known that Adam Smith made this principle into one of the foundation stones of modern economic thought, but it is not so well known that Adam Smith took this theory largely from Mandeville. Mandeville, in the *Fable of the Bees*, as early as the first edition in 1714, definitely developed this conception not only once but several times.⁶¹ Now, of course, the mere fact that Mandeville anticipated Smith would not mean that Smith derived his tenets from Mandeville, for Smith had been anticipated by others besides Mandeville. But Mandeville has special claims to influence. We know that Smith was intimately acquainted with the *Fable of the Bees*. He gave a most able analysis of it in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and devoted half an essay to the influence of Mandeville on Rousseau.⁶² Moreover, Mandeville not only sets forth the division of labor principle, but does so in the words that Smith was to make famous, speaking several times of "dividing" and "subdividing" "labour." Furthermore, one of the most famous passages in the *Wealth of Nations*—that about the laborer's coat—is only a padded paraphrase of a similar passage in the *Fable of the Bees*.⁶³ Finally, Dugald Stewart, who knew Smith personally, credits Mandeville⁶⁴ with having been Smith's inspiration. It does not seem that more need be said to indicate that considerable credit for putting the division of labor theory on its feet belongs to Mandeville.

⁶¹ See *Fable*, I, 182-3, I, 411-4, II, 149, II, 335-6, II, 386, II, 391, and index to Part II under, "Labour. The usefulness of dividing and subdividing it."

⁶² See above, note 30.

⁶³ Compare *Fable*, I, 182-3 and 411-4 with *Wealth of Nations*, ed. Cannan, I, 13-14. Cannan notes the parallel.

⁶⁴ Stewart, *Collected Works*, ed. Hamilton, VIII, 323. Cf. also VIII, 311.

But, though important, his influence on the establishment of this doctrine is a minor aspect of Mandeville's effect on economic tendencies. A more important phase was his place in the international discussion concerning the usefulness of luxury, one of the most widely agitated questions in the eighteenth century. The *Fable of the Bees* contains many passages—perhaps the best known passages in the book—in which Mandeville shows not only the inseparability of luxury from a flourishing state, but holds that the production and consumption of luxuries is necessary to make it flourishing. This opinion was in opposition not only to all the more ascetic codes of morality, but in contradiction to what might be called the classic economic attitude, which set forth the ideal of a Spartan state, exalted the simpler agricultural pursuits, and denounced luxury as the degenerator of peoples and impoverisher of nations. The question of the value of luxury was to be one of the great battlegrounds of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists.

Now, the *Fable of the Bees* was the practical starting place of the defense of luxury, and exerted an international effect, greatest, perhaps, in France. From Mandeville descend the chief exponents of this defense: Melon, Montesquieu,⁶⁵ Voltaire, and the Encyclopedists, and even defenders who were no economists, like Dr. Johnson.⁶⁶ Voltaire, perhaps the most influential of all the defenders, is especially indebted to Mandeville. The famous *Mondain* of Vol-

⁶⁵ The indebtedness of Melon and Montesquieu is treated in Morize's *L'Apologie du Luxe*. Melon's debt is noted also by Espinas, "La Troisième Phase et la Dissolution du Mercantilisme" (in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* for Mar. 1902, p. 166).

⁶⁶ Johnson's economic tenets were apparently drawn from the *Fable*. Mandevillian passages abound; see *Works* (1825), XI, 349; Boswell, *Life*, ed. Hill, New York, 1889, II, 170-1, II, 217-9 (cf. *Fable*, I, 118 ff.), III, 56, III, 265 (cf. *Fable*, I, 108-10 and ff.), III, 282 (cf. *Fable*, I, 198-9), III, 291-2, and IV, 173; *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Hill, I, 157 (Hill notes the origin of this in Mandeville). Johnson himself practically admits his debt (*Life*, III, 291): "He as usual defended luxury; 'You cannot spend money in luxury without doing good to the poor . . .' Miss Seward asked, if this was not Mandeville's doctrine of 'private vices publick benefits.'" And Johnson responds with a brilliant criticism of the *Fable*, the statement that he read the book forty or fifty years ago, and the acknowledgement that it "opened my views into real life very much."

taire, one of the chief works which drove the defense of luxury into the public mind, is in large part simply a versification of some of the theories set forth in the *Fable of the Bees*.⁶⁷

Nor was the *Fable* merely a potent influence in the works of other writers. It not only spurred on the others, but was itself in the van of the attack. In 1785, the learned Professor Pluquet, in a work approved by the *Collège Royal*, called Mandeville the first to defend luxury from the standpoint of economic theory;⁶⁸ and so thoroughly in the public mind was Mandeville conceived as spokesman for the defense of luxury that a popular American play⁶⁹ as late as 1787 apostrophized not Voltaire, not any of the well-known encyclopedists, but Mandeville as the arch-advocate for this defense.

We now come to perhaps the most important aspect of Mandeville's economic influence. In the *Fable of the Bees* Mandeville maintains, and maintains elaborately, the theory at present known as the *laissez-faire* theory, which dominated modern economic thought for a hundred years and is still a potent force. This is the theory that commercial affairs are happiest when least regulated by the government; that things tend by themselves to find their own proper level; and that unregulated self-seeking on the part of individuals will in society so interact with and check itself, that the result will be for the benefit of the community. But unnecessary interference on the part of the state will tend to pervert that delicate adjustment. Mandeville develops this hypothesis in regard both to national and international matters. In national affairs, he says—and elaborates the thesis—"Proportion as to Numbers in every Trade finds it self, and is never better kept than when no body meddles or interferes with it" (*Fable*, I, 342). This advocacy of the *laissez-faire* theory he put into the most discussed part of the *Fable*—the notorious "Essay on Charity and Charity-Schools"; and the effect of his defense is evidenced by the number of replies directed specifically at this part of the *Fable*.

⁶⁷ This is demonstrated in Morize's *L'Apologie du Luxe au XVIII^e Siècle*.

⁶⁸ For the college's approval see Pluquet, *Traité Philosophique et Politique sur le Luxe* (Paris, 1786), II, 501. Pluquet's statement concerning Mandeville's priority (*Traité*, I, 16) is not quite accurate. Bayle had preceded Mandeville in defending luxury. However, the very error shows how closely Mandeville had become identified popularly with the defense of luxury.

⁶⁹ Tyler, *The Contrast*, III, ii.

His application of the *laissez-faire* attitude to international concerns took the form of an attack on the then prevailing mercantile theory—the belief that a nation's wealth could be gauged by the amount of money in the country, and that, consequently, to keep bullion in the country, imports should be either limited or prohibited. In opposition to this, Mandeville, in keen analysis, demonstrated that a community's imports cannot be restricted without affecting the ability of other nations to buy that community's exports; and he developed, also, some of the disadvantages of a nation's possessing a disproportionate amount of the world's bullion.⁷⁰ This, of course, is a predominant phase of the philosophy underlying English free trade, and of the philosophy of free trade in general.

Some historians of economics have considered the *Fable of the Bees*⁷¹ an effectual source of the doctrine; but here the case must be developed by other means than such definite citations as those which demonstrate Mandeville's relation to the division of labor theory and the defense of luxury. To begin with, considering the effect of Mandeville's other economic tenets, and the extraordinary popularity of the *Fable*; and in view also of the fact that the great apostle of the *laissez-faire* theory (both in its national and international applications), Adam Smith, had such a knowledge of and such a debt to the *Fable of the Bees*, it becomes more than possible that as regards the *laissez-faire* theory also Mandeville's influence must have been considerable. And to these considerations must be added another more weighty. In the thought of the great leaders of the *laissez-faire* movement—Hume and Smith—economic theory is, as has been noted, the outgrowth of their ethical systems. They saw man as a mechanism of interacting passions which he cannot help indulging as they come uppermost. Fortunately, however, according to their belief, these passions, although at first sight

⁷⁰ For Mandeville's defense of free trade see especially *Fable*, I, 110-4 and 284, and, for his theories concerning money, I, 213-5 and 345.

⁷¹ Thus Hasback, "Les Fondements Philosophique de l'Économie Politique de Quesnay et de Smith" (in *Revue d'Économie Politique* for 1893, VII, 782); Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus* (1887), p. 743; Laviosa, *La Filosofia Scientifica del Diritto in Inghilterra* (Turin, 1897), p. 683. Schatz calls it (*L'Individualisme Économique et Social*, ed. Paris, 1907, p. 62) "l'ouvrage capital où se trouve tous les germes essentiels de la philosophie économique et sociale de l'individualisme."

their dominion might seem to threaten anarchy, are so composed and arranged that under the influence of society their apparent discords harmonize to the public good. This immensely complicated adjustment is not the effect of premeditated effort, but is the automatic reaction of man in society; premeditated effort could only bungle and interfere with the complex social harmony which the facts of man's nature have of themselves created and will maintain. Thus, from this conception of human nature, the *laissez-faire*, or individualistic, theory of economics naturally followed—a descendant of ethical speculation.

Now, as has been indicated above, the relations between Mandeville and the ethical philosophers of his age were very close, especially as to the conception of human nature which underlies the economic theory of Smith and of Hume. Indeed, this conception of human nature, without which there would have been no philosophy of *laissez-faire*, and with which there could hardly help but be, is specifically Mandeville's. It is Mandeville who describes man as a mechanism of personal interests, which, however, functions in society for the public benefit. Mandeville is the creator of the "economic man" about whom Smith and Hume built their system. The *laissez-faire* theorists who followed Mandeville, whatever they may have said about his terminology of "vice" and "virtue," accepted his analysis of human nature, and used it, without adding essentially to its completeness, as the foundation of their systems.¹²

This sketch of Mandeville's influence on economic thought through the division of labor theory, the defense of luxury, and the *laissez-faire* philosophy does not exhaust his consequence in the field of economics; nor is our view of his general importance complete when we have added to his total effect on economics his commanding position in the development of the utilitarian movement. To complete our picture we should have to study the significance of that mass

¹² Schatz has developed this matter in his "Bernard de Mandeville" (in *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* for 1903, I, 434-80).

Hume, it is true, came finally to assert the reality of benevolence, and Smith had always maintained this. However, their analysis of human nature really paralleled Mandeville's; they differed only in giving the same compassionate emotions contrary names, as Hutcheson did (see above, note 48). And, apart from that, in their economic writings they concentrated on man as a selfish mechanism, leaving his benevolence to be considered in more ethical works.



of fertile theory, embracing everything from anthropology to criminology, with which his work is crammed; we should have to analyze the possible effect of his other books, such as his once popular *Treatise on the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases* and his *Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn*, which, according to J. M. Robertson, anticipated Howard's prison reforms;⁷⁸ we should need to consider the effect he exerted on outstanding figures like Hazlitt and Rousseau, and to add to our estimate a fact with which this paper has not been concerned—that the *Fable of the Bees* is the work of a literary genius. Only then should we have a full portrayal of the significance of a man who was perhaps among the half dozen English writers of the eighteenth century who most profoundly influenced the course of civilization.

Northwestern University.

⁷⁸ *Essays towards a Critical Method* (1889), p. 219.

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ELIZABETHAN STUDIES: SEVENTH SERIES

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MILTON IN RUSTICATION¹

BY E. K. RAND

How well you tell of your high feasting, of your Saturnalian merriment!—How well you tell of the joys of winter in the country, and of the strong must quaffed by the jolly fireside! But why do you complain that poetry is a runaway from wining and dining? Song loves Bacchus, and Bacchus loves song. Apollo was not ashamed to wear the green clusters, nay even to put the ivy of the wine-god above his own laurel. Many a time the nine Muses have mixed with the Bacchic chorus crying *Euoe* on the Heliconian hills. Those verses which Ovid sent from the fields of Thrace were bad, because there were no feasts there and no vineyards. What but roses and the grape-laden vine did Anacreon sing in those tiny staves of his? Teumesian Bacchus inspired Pindar's strain; each page of his breathes ardor from the drained cup, as he sings of the crash of the heavy chariot overturned, and the rider flying by, dark with the dust of the Elean race-course. The Roman lyrist drank first of the four-year-old vintage, ere he sang so sweetly of Glycera and blond-haired Chloe. The sinews of your genius, too, draw strength from the nobly laden table. Your Massic cups foam with a rich vein of song; you pour bottled verses straight from the jar.

What roistering bard is this? The Latin elegiacs of which I have read a translation breathe a spirit of Horace and Ovid; they might be proudly claimed by either of those vinous souls and polished poets. As both of them are mentioned, the author of these lines lived after their time. Here is how his Latin sounds,—I cite the closing verses of the passage, beginning with what he says of Horace:

Quadrismoque madens lyricen Romanus Iaccho
Dulce canit Glyceran flavicomamque Chloen.

¹ This paper was read in part at a meeting of the Philological Society of the University of North Carolina on February 7, 1922.

Iam quoque lauta tibi generoso mensa paratu
Mentis alit vires, ingeniumque fovet.
Massica foecundam despumant pocula venam,
Fundis et ex ipso condita metra cado.

Such verse, you will admit, has the right flavor; it smacks of a mellow and an ancient vintage. Who could have written it, if we must exclude Horace and Ovid? It is very like the latter author; he would willingly have slipped the poem into one of his little books,—possibly emending the remark about his own bad verses. What of Martial? He could turn out a poem in any style, depending on the taste of his patron. But I have somewhat falsified the text. Consult the original and you will see that our poet is describing not the Saturnalia but Christmas. His feasters sip French wine, by an English fireside. We are many centuries remote from Horace and Ovid and Martial. The Middle Ages have passed. So has the Renaissance; or rather it has reached the consummation of its revived and Classical art in the writer of these verses, John Milton.

Those of you who had not thought of the Puritan Milton as one of the best poetical consolers for thirsty wanderers in the great American Sahara, I hope are properly surprised. The reason may be that you have paid less attention to his Latin poems than to those in our own tongue. Milton was only twenty-one when he penned the verses I have quoted. He sent them to his best of friends, Charles Diodati, a young Englishman of Italian parentage. Though the imagery of the poem is antique, it talks about concerns of the moment,—the poet's friend and his pleasures, and the verses which they have interchanged. Diodati had vowed that he could not write poetry because he was having such a good time in the Christmas holidays. Milton, in a pretty vein of banter, replies with a sentiment frequently expressed by the ancient poets, "My dear fellow, you forget. The old bards were always mellow from deep potation before they ventured to put pen to paper. You ought under present circumstances to be polishing off something exceptionally fine." He then goes on to tell of his own plans and of the far different inspiration on which a writer of high poetry, as distinguished from the sort that he was writing then, needed to draw. This is a prelude to the announcement of a poem in English on which he was then at work and which was to contain little of Ovid. We will return to it later.

For the most part, Milton is a young Ovid at the time when he wrote the lines that I have quoted. One of his poems describes the coming of spring (*Eleg.* v). It is Pagan from beginning to end, joyous in spirit, sensuous in flavor, perfect in form. Really if Milton had written it on musty parchment and had somebody discover it, the Classical pundits of his day would have proved beyond question by all the tests of scholarship that a lost work of Ovid had come to light. So with most of the other pieces that he collected into a tiny book of "elegies." To write them, he must have known his Ovid virtually by heart, not merely the *Metamorphoses*, which then and now make the best possible introduction to the world of romance and human charm preserved in the old Greek myths, but all the poems of Ovid, *Fasti* and *Ibis* as well as the poor verses of lamentation poured forth on the shores of the Black Sea, and of course, as Milton is writing elegy, the love poems, *Amores*, with *Heroides* and the *Art of Love*. The imitation is of the subtlest kind. There were no scientific works accessible in Milton's time, as there are now, on Ovid's versification, with imposing tables of statistics in which you can find the percentage of dactyls in any foot of the verse. It was a primitive age; our youthful poet had merely absorbed all the niceties of Ovid's art without cataloguing them. In looking back over these years, Milton speaks of the "smooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schools are not scarce. Whom, both for the pleasing sound of their numerous (=melodious) writing, which in imitation I found most easie, and most agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome."²

But let none imagine that the experiences, real or imaginary, recorded in Milton's Latin poems, match those of Ovid. In his nearest approach to an Ovidian episode, he describes his youthful contempt of Cupid and tells how the winged god took revenge on him one bright Mayday in his nineteenth year. Here is what befell him. (*Eleg.* VII, 51 ff.)

And now I took my pleasure, sometimes in the city parks, where our citizens promenade, sometimes at neighboring country-places. Crowds of girls, with faces like to the faces of goddesses, came and went radiantly

² *An Apology . . . (for) Smectymnus*, in *Works*, Ed. Pickering, 1851, vol. III, p. 269.

through the walks; the day brightened with a double splendor. Surely, the sun himself stole his beams from their faces. I was not stern with myself; I did not flee from the gracious spectacle, but let myself be led wherever youthful impulse directed. Rashly I sent my gaze to meet theirs; I could not control my eyes. Then by chance I noted one supreme above the others, and the light of her eyes was the beginning of my ill. She looked as Venus might wish to seem to mortals; lovely to behold as the queen of the gods was she. That rascal Cupid, harboring his grudge, had thrown her in my path; all alone, he had woven this plot against me. Not far off the sly god was hiding; his torch and many arrows hung as a great load from his back. Not a moment did he lose. Now he clung to her eyelids, now to her virgin face; thence he hopped upon her lips, and now he occupied her cheeks; and wherever the nimble archer went, ah, me! from a thousand points of vantage he struck my defenceless breast. Suddenly unwonted furies assailed my heart; I burned inly with love, I was all aflame. Meanwhile she who was my only delight in misery disappeared, never to be given to my eyes again.*

This is after all a tolerably harmless experience,—he spies a pretty girl in his promenade, falls desperately in love, and, ah, me! never beholds the fair creature thereafter. Ovid is often tantalizing, but never to this extent.

Perhaps you think that I am too long in getting at my subject,—Milton's rustication. I can plead in excuse that the prelude is part of the play. For it is in the first of these Ovidian pieces (*Eleg. 1*) that Milton tells how he was rusticated; no less sure in art and in sentiment than its successors, this poem was written when the lad was but seventeen. I will read you part of it. It was sent to Charles Diodati.

At last, my dear friend, your letter has reached me; the missive paper bears me your words from the western shore of the Dee, by Chester, where that river goes down swiftly to the Irish Sea. Much joy it gives me to think that a far-off country keeps for me so dear a head as yours, and a heart that loves me; and that this distant region owes me my merry mate, aye, and will soon repay him at my prayers. That city which Thames washes with her tidal wave, keeps me fast, nor does my pleasant birth-place detain me against my will; I have no wish to go back to reedy Cam; I feel no homesickness for that forbidden college room of mine. The bare fields there, niggard of pleasant shade, do not attract me. How ill does that place suit with poets! I have no fancy to endure

* The translations of Milton's Latin poems given in this paper are from the admirable version (slightly revised) by William Vaughan Moody in the Cambridge Edition of Milton.

forever my stern master's threats or any of those other actions at which my nature rebelled. If this is "exile," to live under my father's roof and be free to use my leisure pleasantly, I will not repudiate either the outcast's name or lot but will in all happiness enjoy this state of banishment. Oh would that Ovid, sad exile in the fields of Thrace, had never suffered a worse lot! Then he would have yielded not a whit even to Ionian Homer, nor would the first praise be thine, Virgil, for he would have vanquished thee.

He then speaks of the joy of his freedom, freedom to bury himself in his books, which he calls his very life, and freedom to see whatever appears on the stage; it is hard to tell from his words whether he means the actual theatre of his day or merely his reading in the ancient drama. I think he means both, now giving stock examples from the ancient stage, now suggesting modern plays by ancient examples, and now referring to what could come only from a modern play.⁴

Then there are the walks in town or country, and the fair visions that brighten these promenades.

Ah, how often have I stood stupified before the miracle of some gracious form, such as might give old Jove his youth again! Ah, how many times have I seen eyes brighter than gems, brighter than all the fires that roll about either pole, necks whiter than the ivory shoulder of Pelops or the Milky Way that flows with pure nectar. And exquisite grace of brow, and floating locks,—golden nets which Love casts deceptively,—inviting cheeks, to which—even the blush of thy flower, Adonis, is dull! Yield, ye Heroides so praised of yore, and all ye loves that ensnared gadding Jove! Yield ye Persian damsels with your turreted brows; and all ye who dwell in Susa, in Memnon's Ninevah!—And let not Ovid boast the dames of Pompey's porch, nor the theatre resplendent with fashionable gowns. To the maidens of Britain first glory is due; suffice it, foreign dame, that thou canst follow them! And thou city of London, built by Trojan colonists, thy towered head conspicuous far and wide, thou, all too happy, enclosest with thy walls whatever beauty the pendulous Earth possesses. Not so many stars twinkle over thee in the clear night sky, ministrant troops of Endymion's goddess, as through thy highways throng troops of girls, bright with beauty and with gold, drawing all eyes with their radiance.

This encomium of British beauty is suddenly succeeded by the

⁴The "lawyer, pregnant with a ten-years' suit, thundering barbarous words before an ignorant court" does not correspond to anything that I can recall in ancient comedy.

unexpected conclusion that he will leave these halls of Circe the deceiver, for he is permitted after all,

to go back to the bulrush swamps of Cam, and to the raucous murmur of the school.

We do not know the reason for Milton's rustication. The same mystery hangs about it as about Ovid's exile. *Crimen et error* explains the latter event, according to its victim; whatever the *crimen* and the *error* were, the confession of them indicates the exile's repentance. Not so with young Milton; the blame attaches not to him but to the pedagogue, hard of heart and sense, who had presumed to interfere with his scheme of living.

I will now for a moment descend suddenly to our own times, and ask you to imagine what sort of an epistle would be written by a college Freshman to his best friend from a state of rustication, if the Administrative Board will allow us, in New York. The average Freshman today is over seventeen, but on that detail we need not dwell. It is tolerably certain that he would not send a missive of Latin elegiacs in the best manner of Ovid. The theme might include some of the same points, such as the delights of city life, the freedom of the writer to indulge in his favorite pursuit (though this would not necessarily be reading), constant attendance at dramatic exhibitions (perhaps different in character from those that interested Milton, though one of the ancient varieties, the *fabula motoria*, might appeal), and finally, a sincere panegyric of the fair sex in general and American girls in particular. I can imagine such an outline; the filling would be nothing recondite or exotic; the language would be a simple and exceedingly contemporaneous species of the vernacular.

Whether or not it is desirable that undergraduates today should be young Miltons, it is plain that our youth are fed on a different literary staple from that which was regarded as indispensable in the seventeenth century. Of course Milton was a prodigy. He doubtless had read more than any youth of his acquaintance. Still, his acquaintances had all had essentially the same training. Charles Diodati, so far as we know, was not a genius, but an average college man. Milton would not have polished off Latin verses for him, or read those that Diodati sent in reply, had not that seemed a natural and intelligible mode of communication for two college friends.

Ovid was by no means the only Classic with whom Milton was familiar as an undergraduate. Echoes of Virgil and Horace, of Lucretius and Persius are no less apparent to the reader of his early verses, whether Latin or English. He was as deep in Greek literature; indeed it is sometimes said, though one would not gather this from his verse, that his chief models were the Greeks rather than the Romans. He knew the English classics, too,—Chaucer and Spenser and Shakespeare; and of course he knew his Bible. These diverse elements he combined in that finely hybrid culture which has always been the essence of Christian humanism. How much of this he had gained from his tutors, particularly Thomas Young,⁵ before coming to college it were rash to guess; but whatever the acquisitions from year to year, his education is all of a piece.

In reading his ancients, Milton did not merely feast his soul with indiscriminate pleasure; he studied their art in its larger outlines and in its smallest traits. A line like

*Orgia cantantes in Echionio Aracyntho*⁶

shows that he is aware, in his seventeenth year, that Virgil allowed Greek words at the end of a verse a certain metrical liberty,—a spondee in the fifth foot, or a hiatus there, or a short syllable under the ictus, or all of these licenses in a general riot; when the glorious Greeks got into a Roman verse, they broke the rules (with Virgil's kind permission). Milton has studied, and he illustrates in his own adaptation, the principles that govern elegy and epigram, ode and epode, and the short epic known as epyllion. He gives us Catullan choliambics, and later, just after the publication of his minor poems in 1645, he writes an ode to Rouse, the librarian of the Bodleian, which is a rarity in Latin versification. It imitates, with a not wholly serious intent, the glorious freedom and glorious formalism, of a Greek chorus, with strophies and antistrophies, changing metres and occasional free verse; I use this latter term advisably, as it translates Milton's description,—*metra partim sunt κατὰ σχῆσιν partim ἀπολελυμένα*. The best way to get its effect in English is not to read Cowley's translation, but to chop up Mr. Moody's prose translation,—in which no unpoetical element can be found—into

⁵ See *Eleg.* iv.

⁶ *Sylv.* ii, 65.

free verse, as Professor Lowes⁷ once chopped up the prose of George Meredith into free verse. I wonder if the Ode to Rouse has been used in connection with the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*? I wonder if sufficient allowance has been made there for choriamb, and for free verse?

Satire is a field in which Milton, like Virgil and Lucretius, might have excelled; like Virgil and Lucretius, he does not develop it as a form in itself, but keeps it for incidental flavorings. Buchanan had shown that a most pungent variety of Latin satire could be concocted from ancient elements for the benefit of modern sinners, including the Franciscans. Milton works this vein in one of the most powerful of his poems, that on Guy Fawkes' Day (*Sylv.* ii), but in structure it is an epyllion, a mock-epyllion, rather than satire.

In his imitations, the young poet does not hesitate to cross swords with his distinguished predecessors. He invades their very sanctuaries and does over again what one would imagine they had already done very well. The ordinary way to imitate, for instance, Ovid's House of Fame or Cave of Sleep, would be to build some other house or cave somewhere else like Claudian's Cave of the Ages, or Cave of History,⁸ or that which Cowley builds in Hell,⁹ or most habitable of all these caves, Pope's Cave of Dulness. But Milton, undeterred even by Chaucer, has his own House of Fame (*Sylv.* ii, 170). It inevitably suggests Ovid, and it lacks the incomparable grace and fluency with which in Ovid's picture each image glides, before you know it, into the current of the verse. Milton is less at ease, but his picture is striking, and for all its borrowed details, his own.

There are blemishes in the work of the young poet, some of them occasioned by his very audacity. He thus pictures Dame Rumor:¹⁰

Throned on high sits Rumor herself; about her head grow innumerable ears, by whose aid she gathers in the slightest sound, the lightest murmur, from the ends of the earth. More eyes she has than thou, Argus, unjust

⁷ See his *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, p. 219, and on the free character of "the great strophic rhythms" of *Paradise Lost*, p. 259.

⁸ *De Laude Stilichonis*, ii, end.

⁹ *Davideis* i, § 8.

¹⁰ *Sylv.* ii, 181.

keeper of the cow Io, eyes that never close in sleep, but continually look abroad over the lands beneath; with them she is wont to search through places void of light, impervious even to the sun's rays. With a thousand tongues she pours out in unconsidering speech to any chance comer all that she sees or hears, now making less the truth, now swelling it with imagined fabrications.

This is not a picture that easily lends itself to the imagination. Virgil's goddess¹¹ has under all the feathers on her dreadful body as many eyes and tongues and rising ears. We can see the feathers as on any bird, and we can accept the marvel that the feathers are endowed with most unusual properties, but we are not asked to see the eyes and ears and tongues, still less to count them. Virgil and Homer sometimes wish that they had a hundred tongues, but happily for their powers of description, their wish is never gratified. Acuteness of vision is not multiplied proportionately to the number of the organs thereof. Fertility is better symbolized by the bountiful Earth-goddess on the frieze of the Ara Pacis than by the excessive alimentary equipment of Diana of Ephesus.

If any one desires to see *all* the defects of Milton's Latinity and Classical imagery, one has only to consult the notes of the careful Keightley, who with a housewifely solicitude peers into every line and sweeps up whatever is not quite proper there. He points out that Sirens should *not* be called nymphs¹² and that the phrase "to mix a bowl" (*poculum miscere*)¹³ is sadly unclassical for at least two reasons. On both charges, Milton could have instructed his critics as to what Classical, and specifically, Ovidian, usage is,¹⁴ but I mention them as a tribute to Keightley's conscientiousness. It is the same Keightley that collected the "incongruities" of Virgil.

The writing of Latin verse, for men of Milton's time, was more than a kind of laboratory practice in Latin grammar and prosody. It was not produced, like most Latin verse today, in anguish of the spirit and perspiration of the flesh. We have abandoned that elegant exercise, and wonder at the vogue that it had until not very long ago in England. In Milton's day it was a natural part

¹¹ *Aen.* iv, 181.

¹² *Epig. ad Eandem (Leonoram)*, Cambridge Edition, p. 345.

¹³ *Eleg.* vii, 22.

¹⁴ On the first, cf. Ovid's general use of *nymphae* (*Her.* i, 27; ix, 103; xvi, 128). *Misceri pocula* occurs in *Ibis* 297.

of any lad's education, for the reason that it was a legacy from the Italian humanists. Italy had never forgotten what had taken place on its own soil; the contemporaries of Dante and Petrarch regarded Virgil as their ancestor, who spoke their own tongue, even as we think of Chaucer, despite the changes that language has undergone. John Addington Symonds remarks of the Latin poetry of the Renaissance: ¹⁵

For Italians, the *Camoenae* had not died; on the hills of Latium where they fell asleep, they might wake again. Every familiar sight and sound recalled 'the rich Virgilian rustic measure' of the *Georgics* and *Bucolics*.

The Latin verse of Pontano and Sannazaro was no labored effort; it was as natural and as native an expression as Italian. They were bilingual, *utriusque linguae periti*, like George DuMaurier, Professor Lane, and Marcus Aurelius. Milton's residence, the abiding-place of his youthful spirit, was Italy quite as much as England. 'To quote his words,—and here again we must go to the Latin poems for them: ¹⁶

London-bred Milton, a while ago left his nest and his accustomed tract of sky, where the worst of winds fills all beneath Jove's canopy, panting wild blasts from lungs ungovernable; and he came to the fruitful glebe of Italy, to see its proud cities, its noble men, and its gifted youth.

Italy was to Milton as to Browning and to any lover of it, a land of sunshine and romance, gay with the present and solemn with the reminiscence of what he calls "buried Rome." He took his very hand-writing from Italy. The autograph of one of his Latin poems is preserved; the script resembles rather closely—*horribile dictu*—that of his Holiness Pope Julius II.¹⁷ Small wonder that what seemed natural for an Italian poet seemed natural to Milton. He turned out some very respectable Italian verses, and he wrote Latin poetry as in his own tongue.

I have referred to some of the qualities of Milton's Latin poetry. To appreciate the completeness of his success, we must consider for a moment with a bit more care, the nature of the undertaking. It is not enough merely to write decent Latin verse on some ancient

¹⁵ *Renaissance in Italy*, II (1898), p. 324.

¹⁶ *Ad Salsillum*, Cambridge Edit., p. 363.

¹⁷ See E. K. Rand, "J and T in Milton's Latin Script," in *Modern Philology*, XIX (1922), pp. 315 ff.

or, preferably, contemporary theme with due attention to proper vocabulary and the proper place of longs and shorts. That is a considerable task, but the real exertion comes in the imitation. All art is imitative, as Plato and Aristotle observed, and yet perpetually new. A Latin poet of the Renaissance or of Milton's times was bound to play the game according to the rules. He must possess traditional art as well as inspiration,—what Statius calls a *doctus furor*¹⁸—madness accompanied by method. He must season his verse with the antique, but avoid too obvious reminiscences, sheer steals. Steal one must, and yet not without detection. It is the kind of robbery that justifies the robber and makes him rightful owner. Or, shall I say? one must be detected in the manner of Fielding's heroines, indubitably detected, but quite as indubitably virtuous. And not only words and images and turns of thought must be stolen from antiquity, but the flavor, the atmosphere. Substances inconsistent with one another must be combined harmoniously. Cowley, for instance, throws things together that blend no better than oil and water. He is the poet of conceits, and in English he is often best when he is boldest. But the conceits in his Latin verse,—strangely, perhaps, for Ovid is also expert in conceits and helps Cowley to some of his—are unsuccessful, *infelicissime audaces*. Here is a passage from the English *Davideis*:

Samuel himself did God's rich Law display:
Taught doubting men with judgment to obey:
And oft his ravish'd soul with sudden flight
Soar'd above present Times and human Sight.

And here is a part of it as he renders it into Latin:

Temporis ingreditur penetralia celsa futuri
Implumesque videt nidis coelestibus annos.

“And sees in heaven's nests the fledgling years.” Cowley might manage a conceit like this in English verse, but *implumes annos*,—this will never do! Warton says that it will not, and he has the right feeling.¹⁹ One gets used to Cowley's audacities, and once admitting them, reads on with an illegitimate delight. Know the

¹⁸ *Silvae* ii, 7, 76.

¹⁹ *Poems upon Several Occasions* . . . by John Milton, 1765, pp. xv ff.

context, and you will not object to another verse which, rather comically, roused Warton's wrath:

Hauserunt auide Chocolatam Flora Venusque.

Who will not be grateful for Cowley's description of fleas as "hopping points incarnate"?²⁰ Or what wife will not applaud the scholar who takes to heart the maxim displayed in the neat verses

*Bibliotheca fuit paucis decorate libellis
Non onerata malis?*²¹

But in general Cowley's Latin verse is crude. Diverse elements are not fused; they are heterogeneous lumps, not worked into the substance of the verse. Passages will be found in Milton, for instance in the little epic on Guy Fawkes, quite as ethereal as Cowley's lines on the fledgling years, but harmoniously antique. He can also be antique and contemporary in the same instant. When he wishes to praise Queen Elizabeth, she is not mentioned by her barbarian name, but the reader recognizes her as "the Amazonian virgin who there rules of late":

Thermodoontea nuper regnante puella.

Especially fine is the sesquipedalian epithet filling half of the verse in Ovid's manner. This is from the poem on Guy Fawkes, which despite certain lapses in taste and a lob-sided arrangement of the matter is a mature affair. The quality of the satire on the Church of Rome is of a vigor unapproached even in *Lycidas*, and more effective than that in *Lycidas* from its indirectness. Antique flavor becomes most appropriate in a description of Romish rites; they are made Pagan in keeping with the Latin convention, with the delicately ironical implication that they are Pagan anyway. Verily this is a two-handed engine, ready to strike once and strike no more. To illustrate, Milton has described the flight of Satan over the Alps on his way to pour insidious suggestions into the ears of the Pontiff. He reaches the city, and²²

Soon he stood on the citadel of Mars-born Quirinus, in the dubious twilight. Through the great city the Triple-Crowned was going in pro-

²⁰ *Plantarum Libri i, Absinth.* 81: *vitae salienta puncta.*

²¹ *Dauidis* 828.

²² Cambridge Edit., p. 348.

cession, borne on the shoulders of men, and carrying the bread-made gods. Kings bowed the knee before him; long lines of begging brothers bore in their hands wax tapers,—blind souls all, born and bred in Cimmerian darkness! Soon they entered the temples which shone with their many torches ('twas Peter's sacred eve), and the voices of the singers filled the hollow domes and vacant spaces with noise like the howling of Bacchus and his crew, when they hymn their orgies on Theban Aracynthus, while Asopus trembles astonished in his glassy waves, and Cithaeron afar off answers from his hollow cliff.

This is Pagan enough. That is the irony of it, enforced by the concealment of what this festival is. We read for some distance till a brief and stinging parenthesis tells us. Then all that can be heard is the howling of Bacchanalian votaries on the slopes of Cithaeron.

The best of the Latin poems, according to Masson, is the pastoral lament for Milton's friend Charles Diodati, the *Epitaphium Damonis*, "beyond all question," Masson says, "the finest, the deepest in feeling, of all that Milton has left us in Latin, and one of the most interesting of all his poems, whether Latin or English."²³ Whether all readers would agree with this estimate or not, Milton took Latin poetry seriously enough to write it in his thirty-first year, two years after *Lycidas* saw the light. Both the theme and the form are the same, a lament in pastoral for the death of a beloved friend. And still more striking, the grief is now more intense. For there is no question that although his affection for Edward King, whom he had mourned in *Lycidas*, is strong, Charles Diodati had been the very half of his heart, *dimidium animae*. There was thus every inducement for the poet to express his sorrow in the most sincere way; and he chose a pastoral lament in Latin. He had been in Italy again, and the two friends had exchanged Latin verses in the old days. But these are minor considerations. They might excuse the selection of Latin as a medium, but they cannot account for the poem, which is its own justification.

The *Epitaphium Damonis* is one of the later Latin poems. Most of them were written before Milton was twenty-five. If these productions be matched with the poems which Virgil had written at this age, before he had started the *Bucolics*, the palm might well be awarded to Milton. The little epic on Guy Fawkes,

²³ *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, II (1874), p. 374.

the work of the author's seventeenth year, shows greater poise and firmness than the little epic on the *Gnat* which Virgil wrote at sixteen; if anyone doubts that Virgil could have written so learned an affair at such an age, he has only to turn to the early verse of Milton. Of course Milton had the advantage of studying the mature Virgil, and the mature Ovid. But even so, it is something of a feat for a British lad to skip over the centuries and vanquish young Virgil on his own field.

In the verdict of posterity, it is of course the English poems, the *Hymn on the Nativity*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, *Comus* and *Lycidas* that overtop anything that the youthful Milton wrote in Latin. To us his Latin verses are experiments, since to us, for good or ill, Latin is no longer a natural medium of expression, and indeed, when it is pursued at all, is but a brief endeavor and a fleeting memory in the experience of most college men. Yet even on the assumption that Latin poetry was for Milton merely an incident in his training, something is to be said for such a training, when, though unaccompanied by a course in English composition, it enabled a lad of seventeen to write, with the liquid ease of Swinburne,

O fairest flower, no sooner blown but blasted,
Soft silken primrose fading timelessly,
Summer's chief honour, if thou hadst outlasted
Bleak Winter's force that made thy blossom dry—

and only four years later,

This is the month, and this the happy morn,
Where in the Son of Heaven's Eternal King,
Of wedded Maid and Virgin Mother born,
Our great redemption from above did bring;
For so the holy sages once did sing,
That he our deadly forfeit should release,
And with his Father work us a perpetual peace.

Apart from the majesty and the surging flow of these lines, their joyousness, their mystic reverence, they reveal a spirit maturely its own master.

I feel, moreover, that to Milton's mind, his Latin verses were as vital as his early poems in English. It is profitable, at any rate, to read the two together. We should take as a whole the volume of poems, both native and foreign, that he published in 1645, and

not, as many modern editors do, relegate the Latin and Italian pieces to an appendix. It is only by studying these productions together that we can understand the poet's temperament at the time.

Milton's imagination, almost from the moment when he began to write poetry, was dominated by the vision of some great work to which he felt himself destined. A great work meant at that time either epic or tragedy. For a Puritan, the choice between the two would seem easy, and though Milton was impressed with the drama at an early age, as we have seen, and though he originally planned a drama on the theme of *Paradise Lost*, and though he wrought out a splendid ancient tragedy in *Samson Agonistes*, his real impulse was to epic. Now the reader of the Latin poems will perceive that the development of his great idea, and its very existence, were due in part to his reading of the ancients. For Virgil had gone through the same process himself. The Virgil of the *Aeneid* is the ultimate and perfected Virgil, and his epic is the ultimate and perfect expression of the Augustan Age. But Virgil was not born in the Augustan Age. His first poetry was produced in the atmosphere of Alexandrianism, which was the literary habit of the day; elegy and epigram, the minor varieties in general, were in vogue; in the confused and transitional condition of politics there was no place for epic with a large and national scope. Virgil grew with his times, and partly led them. He changed from an Alexandrian into an Augustan; *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* mark the stages in this ascent. Even in the shorter pieces that precede the *Bucolics*, he indicates more than once his dissatisfaction with his present accomplishments and his desire some day to write the best that is in him. Milton could not have failed to know of Virgil's successive plans and triumphs, and of a similar series of aspirations and attainments in Ovid's poetry. Indeed, apology and promise became a literary tradition in antiquity, a fact certain to strike the attention of so intelligent a reader as Milton. Of course any youth can hope to do great things, such as becoming President of the United States, without a knowledge of the ancient habit. But Milton's inborn vision of a distant goal of his endeavor must have been strengthened by his reading of Latin poetry and his practice of its different varieties. Even within the limits of this early period, taking as its farther limit

the writing of the *Epitaphium Damonis* in his thirty-first year, we can note that Ovid sinks more and more into the background, and that Virgil comes to the front.

Milton's progress is not quite identical with that of Virgil, but it shows marked points of contact. Virgil's impulse to epic led him early to plan something national,—something on *res Romanae*, as his ancient biographer says, possibly on the Alban kings, or, if a contemporary subject, on the career of Julius Cæsar.²⁴ The first of Milton's higher themes came to expression in his twenty-first year; it is the poem *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. This is the work to which he refers in that Christmas poem to Charles Diodati, in which Ovidian banter and Virgilian sobriety are harmoniously combined. What elements enter into the composition of the English poem we will consider in a moment.

The next great plan closely suggests that of Virgil. As Virgil had thought, at least in passing, of an epic on some subject like the Alban Kings, so Milton vows that he will

recall in song the kings of my native land, and Arthur, who carried war even into fairyland.—I will sing the Trojan ships that passed along our Kentish coast, and the old realm of Imogene, Brut's wife, and the ancient chiefs Brennus and Arviragus and Belinus and the colonists who settled in Armorica under British laws.—Oh then, if life is granted me, thou, my shepherd-pipe, shalt hang neglected on the gnarled pine, or changing thy tone, sound a clear British lay.

I have put together parts of two passages²⁵ from different poems, the last being the *Epitaphium Damonis*, which is at once a pastoral lament and a farewell to the pastoral, like Ovid's farewell to the *Amores*. Milton declares that he will either have done with pastoral altogether, or cultivate the native sort,—*Britannicum stridebit*. He knew what he had done in *Lycidas*; he could not go back on that; that is what his pastoral must be, if there were to be any more of it. Whether he intended an English or a Latin epic, we have no means of knowing, though Keightley²⁶ appears to

²⁴ See T. Frank, "Vergil's *Res Romanae*," in *Classical Quarterly*, XIV (1920), pp. 156 ff.; E. K. Rand, "Young Virgil's Poetry," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXX (1919), pp. 173 ff.

²⁵ *Sylv.* viii (Manse), 80 ff.; *Epitaph. Dam.* 162 ff.

²⁶ Keightley (*Poems of John Milton*, 1859, II, p. 463), on v. 169: *Tu procul annosa pendebris, fistula, pinu*. "I. e. he will abandon Latin com-

know. It is by no means impossible that the poet had a Latin epic in mind.

In choosing an Arthurian subject for his epic, Milton was helped not only by Virgil's boyish plans, but by their realization in the *Aeneid*. His own ideas as he expresses them here, sound something like a British *Aeneid*; it starts with Troy. Now Milton was of course acquainted with Virgil's preliminary sketch of his epic in the crudely historical form that it took at the time when he was writing the *Georgics*. He declares, in the opening verses of the third book of that poem, that he will erect a temple in honor of Augustus, adorned with carvings that describe his triumphs. The doors of the temple shall bear a battle-scene, in ivory and gold,—the people of the Ganges yielding to Roman arms, the Nile surging with war, and towering columns of ships' beaks. The cities of Asia shall be there, beaten Niphates, the Parthian fighting as he flees, and a double trophy from the distant foes of east and west. There shall be statues, too, breathing images of Parian marble, of the god-descended kings of Troy, Assaracus and Father Tros, and of Apollo, founder of the city. And art will show the fate of enemies within the state; Envy shall cower before the Furies, the harsh stream of Cocytus, the writhing snakes of Ixion, the giant wheel and the rock that never gains the summit. This outline suggests a purely historical and contemporary plot, with an inferno all ready for the hero's foes. As Virgil turned the subject over in his mind, in the slow fashion in which his creative genius moved, the contemporary and historical elements in his epic design sank more and more into the background; the mythical and ideal became the ostensible subject of the poem. His real subject, the majesty of Rome and its mission of peace under a divinely appointed leader, had not changed, but it had acquired a profounder depth and a broader horizon.

This transformation of Virgil's plan and the nature of his final achievement could not have escaped the observant mind of Milton. The spell of Armada days was not over when he formed his design of an Arthurian epic. He had a heroine of Augustan proportions

position, and sing those themes in his native English." But *fistula* does not mean Latin composition; it means pastoral poetry. Perhaps Milton drops some hint elsewhere; if not, Keightley and others are wrong in making v. 169 apply to the Arthurian subjects for epic.

in that Amazonian queen to whom he had paid homage in his undergraduate days. It is conceivable that he intended, not like Spenser, a mirror of the gentleman in the guise of mediæval romance, but like Virgil, a glorification of present-day England in a setting of ancient myth. There is nothing quite so definite as this in Milton's announcement of his plans, but the poet of *Paradise Lost*, who shows in that poem the most intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of Virgil's art, must have had at the age of thirty some inkling of the most obvious characteristics of the *Aeneid*.

Virgil, born to write epic, found the first real outlet for the epic quality of his temperament in the pastoral; he transfuses pastoral with epic; it is almost a new literary type, the epic pastoral. Many tried this rash experiment after Virgil; nobody caught the elusive art till Milton set it forth again in *Lycidas*. *Lycidas* is the best comment on Virgil's *Bucolics* ever made, the best clue to the secret places of their greatness. Understand *Lycidas* and you will understand the *Bucolics*; misunderstand *Lycidas*, denounce its conventions and incongruities as Dr. Johnson did, and you will make similarly unhappy denunciations of the *Bucolics*, as Dr. Johnson did. I have tried,—particularly after what Masson had to say—but I have not been able, to detect the same informing spirit in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, which is rather a return to the mood of Bion and Moschus; there is nothing ignoble in such a feat, only it is not Virgilian; it gives no hint of epic about to be, irrepressible, straining at the leash, as in Virgil's pastorals. Genuine sorrow shines through the artificial setting, but it does not, as in *Lycidas*, transform it. And there is one tremendous infelicity, the refrain:

Go to your folds unfed, my lambs, your master has no time for you."

This is well enough for three times or even four, but lambs that have to be liturgically shooed away seventeen times are either unusually hungry or unusually inquisitive; at any rate they become unusually monotonous. Milton's resolve to write no more Latin pastorals is quite understandable. He instinctively shrinks from attempting the Virgilian strain in Latin; so in this medium he

"Ite domum impasti; domino iam non vacat, agni. Mr. Moody by translating "Your master is troubled" somewhat relieves the situation, but more courteously than Milton deserves.

reverts to the Alexandrians. But no new path opens in this direction; if there is need of a pastoral in the future, let it be in the vein of *Lycidas*.

We may now for a moment return to the *Poem on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, often cited, conveniently but unfortunately, as the *Hymn on the Nativity*; it is not a hymn, though it contains what is entitled a hymn. This work is modelled, in a way most interesting to compare with the very different sort of imitation in *Lycidas*, on Virgil's Messianic eclogue. This much-discussed poem—I will speak categorically, as though there were only one view of its nature—is a Birth Song, sung by the Fates upon the advent of a young son and heir in the household of Pollio, in 40 B. C., when Pollio was consul and a happy augury of peace had presented itself to the faction-ridden Roman state. Virgil seizes the event as symbolic of the return of the Golden Age. Ancient prophecy has been fulfilled and the Fates now chant it. The imaginary setting of the poem is the very moment of the birth of the child; as the song ceases, the infant is asked to greet its mother with the happy omen of a smile. Virgil's language reads much like the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, and the poem was eventually interpreted as allegory, not completely understood by its author, of the coming of Christ. Into the history of that interesting misunderstanding we may not enter here, save that to note that it must have been known to Milton.

There is a rude and primitive anticipation of *Lycidas* and of the present poem in a pastoral lament written by Radbertus in the ninth century.²⁸ The work has some merit, particularly in its skilful combination of the imagery of Isaiah with that of the fourth *Eclogue*. This fusion of diverse elements,—incongruities until they are fused—is characteristic of all Humanistic Christian poetry, as we have been noting; it is illustrated by Milton time and again in his Latin poems, and supremely in *Lycidas*. An admirable specimen of this art, like in aim to the *Egloga* of Radbertus but greatly excelling it in execution, is the *De Partu Virginis* of Sannazaro, a poem which had a tremendous vogue in its day and which might well have been known to Milton. Pope constructed his *Messiah* on the same plan.

²⁸ *Egloga duarum sanctimonialium* etc., *Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae Lat. Aev. Carol.*, III, pp. 45 ff.

But Milton had a different goal in view. His aim is to write a true Messianic eclogue, in which all Pagan dross has been purged away. The main theme is retained. The poet announces a new age, made manifest by the birth of the Holy Child, who has come in the strength of his Father, to work for mankind a perpetual peace,—

pacatamque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

It is the morn of that happy event; the Magi are on their way with their offerings. The Fates are not to chant the Birth Song, but the poet himself will outrun both Fates and Magi and lay his ode at the Saviour's feet. Then follows the hymn, or rather ode, in which the poet tells the Gospel story of the Birth with its attendant miracles; this he accompanies with his own reflections and his hopes. An age of peace has dawned, yet not the Golden Age; it is not the time for Virgil's prophecy. Calvary no less than Bethlehem is in the destined order of man's redemption. For full and perfect bliss the world must wait until the Judgment Day. The knell of Paganism is sounded. Apollo's oracle is dumb. Sullen Moloch flees, and with him all the false gods of whatever land. Even the huge snaky Typhon hisses away in terror from the Infant's crib.

Our Babe, to show his Godhead true,
Can in his swaddling bands control the damnéd crew.

Here is perhaps a bit of Pagan coloring,—just a glimpse of the new-born Hercules strangling the serpents in his crib.²⁹

But see the Virgin blest
Hath laid her Babe to rest.

The lines have the sweetness, if not the exact meaning of

Incipe parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem.

In citing these few passages, I have indicated all that is Pagan in the poem. There is almost no allusion save to what the poet wishes to refute. We have here a rare and beautiful kind of imitation. The poet starts with a Classical model; he means us to

²⁹ So at least Keightley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 25:

“He perhaps had the infant Hercules in mind.”

see this; his act is a challenge. To match the Pagan's Messianic prophecy, he has written a pastoral Birth Song for the real Messiah, in which Christian purity and truth dispense with the gaudy trim of Pagan imagery. In *Lycidas*, a Christian subject is decked with all the ornament that reminiscence can bestow,—and the poetry is no less great and true. The poems are like the two statues that Phidias made of the Virgin Athene, one in the goddess's simple attire, the other in her gorgeous panoply. Every Latin poet in the Middle Ages, such as Hildebert of Tours, was master of two styles, the rustic style of epic and elegy, in which ancient rules of vowel quantity were still observed and Classical imitation abounded. Whether or not the youthful Milton was deeply read in mediæval Latin poetry, he has continued one of its traditions.³⁰

In this early period, then, Milton, like the youthful Spenser, like the youthful Virgil, and other youthful poets, too, finds the pastoral a natural medium for his genius. He even tries the masquerade, in *Comus*, most virtuous of pastorals, and with greater brevity and charm, in *Arcades*. He indicates in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, as we have seen, that others still may follow, and that his fame may rest solely on pastorals in his native tongue. But that surmise did not come true; it was not by this path that he proceeded to fulfil his great plan.

The impulse came in another way. The first step, but a step aside, was the abandonment of his cloistered art and his pleasant roamings in Italy, for active participation in an issue that had fired his soul. The good conservative Warton looks on Milton's Puritanic polemics with no kindly eye.³¹ "But surely," he remarks, "these speculations should have been consigned to the enthusiasts of the age, to such restless and wayward spirits as Prynne, Hugh Peters, Goodwyn, and Baxter. Minds less refined, and faculties less elegantly cultivated, would have been better employed in this task:

Coarse complexions,
And cheeks of sorry grain, will serve to ply
The sampler, and to tease the huswife's wool:

³⁰ See E. K. Rand, "Prudentius and Christian Humanism," in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LI (1920), p. 75.

³¹ *Poems*, etc., p. xv.

What need a vermeil-tinctur'd lip for that,
Love-darting eyes, and tresses like the morn?"

Warton takes his quotation from a dangerous source; he is citing devil-scripture for his purpose. The religious controversy of Milton's day, however unlovely it may appear to us, was life and death to him. It determined his intellectual interests for twenty years and made inevitable his final choice for epic. I cannot go into the complicated series of happenings of which *Paradise Lost* was a natural sequence. It proved to be a personal rather than a national poem,—personal and universal. But it was the course of national events and Milton's participation in them, and his ultimate exclusion from them, that prepared the ground from which flowered the most Classic epic of modern times. In its ostensible theme, it had a long line of precursors; there had been many since the days of Juvenecus the Spaniard who had moulded Biblical episodes into Virgilian form. There are passages in Milton's Latin poems which show that he was adept in this art.³² But for the motives that urged him to the new task we must look deeper than his familiarity with Biblical epic,—Latin, French or native. He was not casting about for some literary form that might profitably exercise his genius.

Paradise Lost is the product of an intense, personal experience. It should be studied with certain works written by prisoners and exiles, especially by men who have had the prizes of life suddenly and, it would seem, unjustly, snatched from them, and who grasp desperately for some deeper meaning in life, some spiritual possession of which none may rob them. The weaker spirits surrender to lamentation, the sturdier turn from the world in which all is wrong to that in which all is right. Ovid is one of the weaker exiles; he still shows his old power to create a little world of the imagination and to retreat into this, but for the most part, he sends what Milton called "bad verses" from the shores of the Euxine. Cicero in his actual exile displays the weakest sides of his character; in that still more poignant exile which befell him after his return, his exclusion from power in the state, he turned to philosophy, which had occupied his mind from his youth, as to

³² E. g. the fine description of Sennacherib, with its Virgilian echoes in *Eleg.* iv, 113 ff. and that of Satan, for an anticipation of *Paradise Lost*, at the beginning of *Sylv.* ii.

a substitute for a life brimmed with activities and satisfactions, Bunyan, Sir Thomas More and Dracontius are among the prisoners who merged their individual lots in the high controlling principles of life. Boethius is the noblest exile of them all; the consolation that Philosophy administered to him in his dungeon is the knowledge that Fortune has been kind to him and that his proud soul possesses the real rewards of life, as he says in the great words with which this great work closes, *ante oculos iudicis cuncta cernentis*. And Milton, exiled by his blindness from the physical world,

Imprisoned now indeed
In real darkness of the body,

and banished like Cicero from high functions of state, wastes no moment in regret, but with that mind which is its own place, and surer to prosper than prosperity would have assured him, finds at last his great theme for epic in a theodicy; he will prove that

Just are the ways of God,
And Justifiable to men.

There could be no completer contrast to Virgil's external career than that of Milton. Virgil, while taking no part in the politics of his day, had prophesied the great change in government, had cherished monarchy as the instrument of peace, and had lived to see his dream realized, realized as well as any dream can be. The great work to which his spirit had been growing is the embodiment of this very ideal. Milton's ideal, which originally may have been the same, was rudely shattered by intestine conflict. He grew into a new order, and contributed to it. Poetry made only an occasional appeal to him at the time. He was too much in the thick of events to idealize them. Had the rule of Cromwell proved as stable as that of Augustus, Milton might have magnified it in a Virgilian way, returning to something of his early plan; his harmonious and wonder-working mind might have traced a divinely destined succession from King Arthur to Cromwell. But this was not to be. He had fallen on evil times, on the "Restoration" of all that he had held most wrong. He cannot glorify the present; he turns his eyes from it. Satisfaction he must have, and he seeks it in things divine. As Mr. Paul Elmer More acutely observed,²²

²² *Shelburne Essays*, iv, p. 243.

Paradise Lost may be regarded as a kind of pastoral, an effort to escape from the bitterness of here and now into the calm of a Golden Age; this does not completely account for the poem; indeed, as its purpose gradually dawns on the reader, pastoral longing, the contemplation of pastoral peace, seems only a tiny strand in the whole fabric. Milton sought ultimate peace not in escape but in fulfilment. His mind still battles and surges with revolt. He is fighting on the Lord's side and beating down his enemies.

But just at this moment, Virgil enters. The new work, the great work, will not be another pamphlet, a *Pro Deo Defensio* to match the *Pro Populi Anglicani Defensio*. It will be an epic, Virgilian in spirit and design. Ancient art is a balm for the wounded soul, and it soothes the poet more and more as the task proceeds. Mr. C. H. Herford, in his preface to Chambers' *English Pastorals* remarks:

In Pastoralism, literary tradition penetrates everywhere, like an atmosphere, softening the asperities of innovation and touching the contours, even of a work fashioned by a Shakespeare or a Milton, with a halo of allusion and reminiscence.

This soothing effect of the traditional art on a poet's natural intensity is not confined to the pastoral. It appears in epic, or in any literary tradition. The Saracens of Ariosto and Tasso lose something of their diabolical temper when they enter the lists in defence of a literary Troy. Who can deny that the Classics were a wholesome balm for Milton's spirit all through his life? Who would not shudder to think what the world might have lost, had not Ovid tempered his youth and Virgil his age? If Milton be considered a typical Puritan,—and we all can frame an unlovely definition of what a typical Puritan was—his dallying with the old poets, who sang unabashed of love and wine and theatres and other themes beyond the Puritanic pale, is itself a kind of rustication. I will allegorically so interpret it, and thus, I hope, appease the reader who may think that I have been rambling from my promised path. Milton came of stalwart stock; his grandfather was as firmly Catholic as he himself was Puritan. Milton's mind was naturally stern, simple, intense, tenacious of purpose, contemptuous of show. Oh happy the day when he became apprentice to the gayest of ancient poets, facile of fancy, fond of banter, audacious

to the point of blasphemy, treating life as a series of metamorphoses, revelling in change. On Milton's temperament Ovid had undoubtedly a limbering effect. Either Milton took seriously his lack of seriousness and seriously imitated it; or if he did not take it seriously, why then he had already brought about a profitable mitigation of his own seriousness.

The Classics were so useful as a scape-goat. The might of tradition made right. Does it seem curious that a Puritan in a threnody on the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge should express the hope that Aeacus will give him an easy sentence, and Proserpine greet him with a pleasant smile? Not when you know that this is the correct habit. When in Rome, do as the Romans do. When writing Pagan verse, turn everything into Pagan,—words, ideas, colors and ultimate beliefs. A long tradition lay before Milton, running back of the Renaissance and not without its witnesses in the Middle Ages.

Ovid also tempts him to banter. He banters delightfully in his Christmas poem to Diodati. There is a subtle tone of banter in his poem on Plato's doctrine of ideas as interpreted by Aristotle.²⁴ Even audacity is easy for Milton with Ovid to guide. What more audacious than the close of his pastoral lament for Diodati, when he describes the apotheosis of his friend in language that applies equally well to the joys of the New Jerusalem and to the frenzy of a Bacchic dance?

Thy bright head crowned with light, and glad palms in thy hand, thou dost ever act and act again the immortal nuptials, there where singing is, and the lyre mixes madly with the beatific dance, and the wild orgies rage under the thyrsus of Sion.²⁵

I also call it audacious to seize a wish from one of Ovid's most unblushing rhapsodies on a golden day with Corinna and apply it to his vision of the dear departed Bishop of Winchester,—

*Talia contingant somnia saepe mihi.*²⁶

²⁴ See Moody's remarks, Cambridge Edition, p. 357.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

²⁶ End of *Eleg.* iii. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* i, 5, 26: *proveniant medii sic mihi saepe dies.* A similarly daring bit is *Eleg.* v, 8: *poscet opus.* Cf. *Am.* iii, 7, 68.

And listen to this encomium of the fair Leonora, a noted singer whom he had heard in Rome:

To every man his angel is allotted (believe it ye people!), his winged angel from the ethereal hierarchies. 'What wonder, Leonora, if a greater glory be yours! For your voice soundeth the present Deity. Either God himself, or surely at least the Third Mind of the insubstantial sky, thrills mysteriously through your throat; thrills, suavely accustoming mortal hearts by tender degrees to immortal sounds. Yes, if all things be God, and He be transfused through all, yet in you alone He speaks, the rest He possesses in silence."⁷

Truly it is only a training in the Classics that could induce a Puritan to fling this theological bouquet at the feet of a prima donna. If he had said this sort of thing seriously, he deserved to be put out of meeting. But, ah, there is the patient scape-goat again, the prescribed imitation of Pagan extravagance in panegyric.

But Ovidian precept leads to another, and somewhat unexpected result, a display of modesty. In the poem on Guy Fawkes Day (*Sylv.* ii), Satan appearing in a dream to his son, the Pope of Rome, contemptuously refers to the English nation, of which the young man felt himself *non minima pars*, as a "barbarous race born under the Hyperborean Pole." What but an inoculation of Ovidian courtesy, and of Ovid's fondness of treating himself to a metamorphosis, could have induced Milton to describe himself, in the poem to his Italian host Manso, as a "stranger youth descending from the Hyperborean Pole"?

If the dexterous teacher can work these startling changes, why not one more astonishing still, a homage to the liturgy and organization of the Established Church of England? The Roman poets are all devoted to liturgy, Ovid no less than the rest. In their spirit, Milton dedicates a poem of lament to each of two lately deceased Bishops, poems of a reverential cast, suggestive of solemn choirs, sacred lights and a stately Apostolic succession. Just look at the ancient magic! The fact that a Bishop had died would not ordinarily induce a youth of Puritanic tendencies to grace his obsequies with a poem; but if the youth is also a disciple of Ovid and Horace, casting about for a mete subject for ode or elegy, he

⁷ Cambridge Edit., p. 344.

might, without straining conscience, devote a Latin lament to the distinguished man, Bishop though he be. I would not imply that Milton's praise is insincere. I have also not forgotten that Milton was less anti-Episcopal at the time than later. I mean merely that prelacy with a seasoning of the Classics is more palatable to a Puritan than without.

Shall I now add, to make the *reductio ad Ovidium* complete, that Milton received his asceticism from Ovid? Ovid is ascetic to the point of vegetarianism,—not always, perhaps, but when he is talking of Pythagoras, whose doctrine of the transmigration of souls is kept by the poet for his final book as the most impressive of all metamorphoses. So the sacred poet, Milton declares,³⁸

must live sparsely, after the manner of Pythagoras, the Samian teacher. Herbs must furnish him his innocent food; let clear water in a beechen cup stand at his side and let his drink be sober draughts from the pure spring.

Let this suffice. We have boxed the compass, and with a sudden and Ovidian metamorphosis, reduced Milton to sobriety again. He has returned from rustication. It has been a wholesome experience. Perhaps I am going too far, but at least I can imagine that if it had not been for his intense love of the ancient poets and his profound reading and skilful rewriting of them, if it had not been for this pleasant rustication in a world alien to Puritanic thought, the talented scholar and ardent theorist might have performed the same services in defence of the new government and left the world the same series of sturdy polemical tracts, but never have expressed his final estimate of life in the solemn and liturgical music, the calm and strife-transcending thought, the sympathetic and dramatic characterization and the thoroughly Virgilian imagery of *Paradise Lost*.

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³⁸ Cambridge Edit., p. 344.

MILTON AND THE ZOHAR

BY DENIS SAURAT

I purpose to prove that Milton knew the *Zohar* and other kabbalistic documents, that he used them freely as a source of inspiration; that practically all his philosophical ideas are kabbalistic ideas, in such a way that the only tenable hypothesis is that he derived the most important part of his philosophy from the Kabbalah.

I shall use the French translation of the *Zohar* by de Pauly (Paris, Leroux, 1906-1911) and M. S. Karppe's *Etude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar* (Paris, Alcan, 1901). Both books contain unacceptable ideas as to the formation of the *Zohar*; but that is of no importance here, as we shall consider the *Zohar* as it was known in the sixteenth century. I also beg to be allowed to refer the reader to my study of Milton's philosophy (*La Pensée de Milton*, Paris, Alcan, 1920) for any more detailed proof than can be here given that Milton held such or such an idea.

The *Zohar* was printed in Mantua and Cremona in 1559-1560, another edition coming out at Lublin in 1623. The most celebrated commentators of the *Zohar*, Cordovero and Loria, belong to the middle of the sixteenth century. Pico della Mirandola, Reuchlin, Agrippa during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had prepared the scholars of Europe to receive kabbalistic ideas and had made known many of the principles of the Kabbalah. In 1635, Joseph Voysin published in Paris a Latin translation of some passages of the *Zohar*. Father Kircher published his study of the Kaballah in Rome from 1652 to 1654. In England, Robert Fludd (1574-1637) gave to the public the most interesting among the kabbalistic conceptions, and there are many striking resemblances between Fludd's and Milton's ideas. Last of all, Henry More, who belonged to the same Cambridge College as Milton, published in 1654, in London, his work on the Kabbalah.

Such facts must here suffice to show that Milton could not be ignorant of the existence of the Kabbalah. Unanimous tradition and even the statement of the poet himself leave us no doubt that he was able to read the Aramean text of the *Zohar*; and we know

Milton sufficiently well to be sure that if once he became interested in the Kabbalah, he would go straight to the main text with his usual contempt for commentators, since the text was accessible. In such circumstances, the proof that Milton knew the *Zohar* and derived ideas from it must come from a comparison of the two systems of thought and a precise investigation of texts.

I do not mean to maintain that Milton was a kabbalist, in the sense that he accepted the *Zohar* as a revealed book in any other way than any other great book. His mind was much too clear and exacting for that. Besides, the *Zohar* is full of contradictions, owing to the way it was put together or transmitted. Milton evidently only took what suited him from that chaos of ideas. But Milton used the *Zohar*, found there abundant confirmation of his general ideas, and drew from there most of the ideas which seem at first sight more particularly his own.

Many of his general conceptions belong to a traditional stock, common to the *Zohar* and to other Jewish or Christian lines of development. But some of Milton's most original notions are only found in the *Zohar*; and perhaps the most striking fact of all is that in the *Zohar* can be found all Milton's ideas, whether apparently peculiar to himself or not. With one reservation only,¹ it can be stated that Milton's philosophy is in the *Zohar*, and Milton had only to disentangle it from extraneous matter. Inversely, although Milton only took in the *Zohar* a very small part of its contents, there is really only one great idea of the *Zohar* which is not in Milton: the idea of reincarnation. Even in this case, however, there is a parallel conception in the poet. The basis of the theories of reincarnation is that the future life must take place on earth, and debts contracted either by us or towards us must be paid in kind. This idea of justice as rendered in this world and not in another is what drove Milton to adopt the notion of the Millenaries and Fifth Monarchy men: it is on this earth that Christ will come and reign and settle all accounts.²

¹ The idea of the non-existence of the soul, the origin of which I study in the *Revue Germanique* (October, 1921) and even in this case, all the ideas on which Milton bases this one are in the *Zohar*: pantheism, matter as a divine substance, transformation of matter into spirit, unity between matter and spirit, vindication of sensuality, etc. Milton only drew the conclusion; and was probably helped to it by an arrant kabbalist, Robert Fludd.

² *La Pensée de Milton*, p. 209.

Let us first see what Milton owes to the mythology of the *Zohar*. It is comparatively little.³ So reasonable a mind could not be much influenced by the extravagant development and complication of myths which the kabbalists indulge in. Yet a few traits are very interesting.

In *Paradise Lost* (ix, 815-833) Eve soliloquises thus, after having eaten the apple, and before giving it to Adam (she had thought it better perhaps to keep superior science to herself):

But what if God have seen
And death ensue? then I shall be no more,
And Adam, wedded to another Eve
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
A death to think. Confirmed then I resolve
Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe:
So dear I love him that with him all deaths
I could endure, without him live no life.

Splendid psychology, in splendid language. The *Zohar* says:

The woman touched the tree. Then she saw the Angel of Death coming towards her, and thought: Perhaps I shall die and the Holy One, Blessed be He, will make another woman and give her to Adam. That must not happen. Let us live together or let us die together. And then she gave the fruit to her husband that he should eat it also.⁴

There is perfect correspondence in the sequence of ideas:

But what if God have seen And death ensue? then I shall be no more And Adam wedded to another Eve Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct A death to think. Confirmed then I resolve Adam shall share with me . . .	Perhaps I shall die, and the Holy One, Blessed be he, will make another woman and give her to Adam. That must not happen
--	--

³ Milton follows the normal Christian tradition as to myth, see *La Pensée de Milton*, III, i.

⁴ *Zohar* I, 269^b Vol. II, p. 637. Eleazer of Worms has a similar passage, derived from *Midrach, Genesis rabba XIX*. But Eleazer of Worms or the *Zohar* is one to my thesis, Eleazer being one of the most celebrated kabbalists.

. . . with him all deaths Let us live together or let us die
I could endure, without him live no together.
life.

A second trait seems more important still:

The allegory of the Second Book of *Paradise Lost*, in which Satan commits incest with his daughter Sin, issued from himself, and thus produces Death, has revolted many minds since Voltaire; the more specially because the repulsive idea of incest seemed quite gratuitous, a mere indulgence in the horrible on Milton's part, since *James* i. 15 gives no hint of it: "When Lust has conceived it bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death."

If, therefore, we are sorry to take away from Milton's wreath that flower of Eve's jealousy, it is a sort of compensation to acquit him of this less graceful invention. Karppe tells us that in the kabbalistic tales

It is a law that applies also to the Sephiroth—that the female first issues from the male and then is fecundated by him.⁶

Hence Sin came from Satan, and then incest was committed by them. In the *Zohar*, the particular form of incest "father-daughter" becomes a law. God himself has sexual intercourse with the Matrona, or Shekhina, his daughter.⁶ And there is a Matrona of the lower world (Lilith perhaps) who has become Milton's Sin, daughter and wife to Satan, as she boasts herself:

at thy right hand voluptuous,
Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.

A third trait, less important perhaps, is also interesting:

Whence comes chaos in Milton? Since in his philosophy everything comes from God by his "retraction,"⁷ which produced first that divine matter from which the universe is evolved naturally, it is difficult to explain the anterior existence of chaos, and one may be tempted to see here a purely poetical survival from a different cosmogony.

⁶ Karppe, 427.

⁶ *Zohar*, Vol. I, p. 173, 353; II, 432, etc. The *Zohar* insists somewhat too much on this point for our modern taste.

⁷ *Pensée de Milton*, p. 133 and 146, on "matter" and below.

But the *Zohar* explains this chaos, and, incidentally, suggests a meaning for one of Milton's finest and most discussed lines ⁸ (*P. L.*, II, 911), where chaos is

The womb of Nature and perhaps her grave.

Why "perhaps her grave"?

The *Zohar* relates on several occasions ⁹ that God, before creating this world, had created several others, and, not being pleased with them, had destroyed them; the remnants of such worlds being pointed to by the words: "and the Earth was thohu and bohu." It seems evident that, in Milton's mind, unless the Earth fulfil the aims God created it for, it will be destroyed also and become part of this chaos of lost worlds. Hence a tragic significance to "perhaps her grave."

Such are the artistic traits in common between Milton and the *Zohar*. Few indeed, but very curious.

Let us now see the practically complete correspondence between the philosophical ideas.

The most striking feature here is the identity of views on the ontological relationship between God and the world.

In Milton's system, God being all things, the creation of separate beings must be their separation from God. I have tried at length to show that this idea of free will within a pantheistic system was the central point of Milton's thought both in *Paradise Lost* and the *De Doctrina Christiana*.¹⁰ This creative liberation can only be accomplished by a "retraction" of God upon himself: the divinity "retires" (as Milton says) its will from certain parts of itself, giving them over, so to speak, to whatever latent impulses remain in them. God himself, at one of the decisive points of *Paradise Lost*, before the creation of the world, when Satan seems to have wrought havoc in the divine Scheme, gives out the theory:

. . . I uncircumscribed myself retire
And put not forth my goodness, which is free
To act or not—¹¹

The *Tiqoune Zohar* has: ¹²

⁸ See Professor Greenlaw, *Studies in Philology*, July, 1920, p. 335.

⁹ See especially I, 24^b (Vol. I, p. 152) and I, 266^b (Vol. II, p. 631).

¹⁰ *La Pensée de Milton*, p. 133: le retrait.

¹¹ *P. L.*, VII, 170.

¹² *Tiqoune Zohar*, XIX, quoted by de Pauly, vol. VI (2nd part), p. 346.

When we think that the Holy One, blessed be He, is infinite and that he fills everything, it is easily understood that any creation would have been impossible without the "zimzoum" (retraction). How could it be possible to put more water into a cup which is already filled to the brim? The Holy One, blessed be He, has therefore contracted the Holy Light which is his essence, not that he diminished himself—God preserve us from such an idea!—being all things, he can neither increase or decrease. Only since the light of God is of such purity and strength that it eclipses all things, even the higher angels, even the Hayoth, even the Seraphim¹³ and the Cherubim, the Holy One, blessed be He! to make possible the existence of celestial and material works, withdrew his almighty light from a part of himself.

. . . dazzle Heaven, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not but with both wings veil their eyes.

If we go back to the complete passage in Milton, in its very construction we shall find an exact reproduction of these few lines of the *Zohar*:

Boundless the deep, because I am
who fill
Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.¹⁴

When we think that the Holy One
—is infinite and that he fills every-
thing.

Though I uncircumscribed myself
retire
And put not forth my goodness,
which is free
To act or not,

it is easily understood that any
creation would have been impossi-
ble without the zimzoum (retrac-
tion)—the Holy One has therefore
contracted the holy Light which is
his essence.

Necessity and chance
Approach me not, and what I will
is fate.

not that he diminished himself—
God preserve us from such an idea
—being all things, he can neither
increase nor decrease.

In the two texts, we find, in the same order:

1. *The assertion that God is infinite*, repeated twice:

"I am who fill infinitude" rendering "the Holy one is infinite"
and "nor vacuous the space" rendering "he fills everything."

¹³ Note Milton's insistence on this theme "God is light" and this particular trait, *P. L.* III, 383:

¹⁴ Many editions erroneously put a comma here, instead of the necessary full stop.

2. *The idea of retraction*: the English "retire" rendering "zimzoum" ("retrait" in the French of de Pauly), and "put not forth my goodness" rendering "contracted the Holy Light" since "goodness" and "Light" are two names of the Shekhina, the essence that plays the principal part in the *Zohar*.

3. *The assertion* that, in spite of this "retraction," God remains all powerful, his greatness undiminished.

It appears, therefore, that the passage from *Paradise Lost* is a mere adaptation, or properly a sort of free translation from the passage in the *Tiqoune Zohar*. Milton has only omitted the comparison to the cup of water, which was a hindrance to the logical impetuosity of his period.

It must be considered also that this is not a sidepoint but that these six lines are the most important passage in *Paradise Lost* from the philosophical point of view, also the most characteristic.¹⁵ Here Milton expresses his most striking, and as it seems, his most original idea, from which is derived his conception of matter: since matter is that "space not vacuous" even after the contraction of God, what remains of God's powers in space when God has withdrawn his will. It can therefore be asserted that Milton has derived from the *Zohar* his philosophical system. Pantheism, materialism, doctrines of free will and of Fate as God's will: by a truly remarkable *tour de force*, Milton has logically knotted these four somewhat antagonistic conceptions into one solid knot; he has done it in six lines, but only because the *Tiquone Zohar* had done it in ten. Should even some source at present unknown, have transmitted second hand to Milton this idea of "retraction," the close correspondence of the two passages seems to me to prove that anyhow in this particular case Milton had gone back to the original text, whatever other inspiration that may be found having only pointed it out to him.

This central point once fixed, everything else derives from it. A volume would be necessary to study precisely the relationship between Milton's ideas and the ideas of the *Zohar*, and even such a study would be incomplete because other elements than either Milton or the *Zohar* would have to be taken into account; these are only two strands of a rope that is made up of many more

¹⁵ See *La Pensée de Milton*, p. 134 ff.

besides. I shall here only point out the chief resemblances, and therefore, practically, only open the discussion. I do not assert in what follows that this or that particular passage of the *Zohar* has inspired this or that passage in Milton; but only that the same ideas exist in the two systems.¹⁶

To Milton, God is the infinite, immutable, unknowable, non-manifested. That is the "En-Sof," the End-less of the *Zohar*, which is also "Ayin," "Nothingness," so inconceivable it is.

Fountain of Light, thyself invisible (P. L., III, 374.)

"But God, as he cannot be seen, so neither can he be heard" (*Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, p. 109).¹⁷ "The phrase 'he did not think' is not applicable to God" (*T. C. D.*, p. 145). "Within the Supreme Thought," says the *Zohar*,¹⁸ "no one can conceive anything whatsoever; it is impossible to know the Infinite which does not come under the senses; every question and every meditation is vain to reach the essence of the Supreme Thought, centre of all, secret of secrets, without beginning or end, infinite."

In both systems, God is the absolute of the metaphysicians, equally incapable of manifesting itself and of being conceived. Consequently, in both systems there is a *Demiurge*, an inferior God who is at once the creator and the creation since there is some sort of pantheism in the two schemes. In Milton, this *Demiurge* is the Son, who is the Finite, the Expressed, "the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made" (*T. C. D.*, p. 80) "not co-eval with the Father" (83) "not from everlasting, but from the beginning" (109) "the secondary and instrumental cause" (91).

In the *Zohar*, the part of the *Demiurge* is played by the "World of Emanation" the first three Sephiroth taken as one whole, Crown, Wisdom and Intelligence, because the *Zohar* carries the idea further and puts several steps between God and the World.¹⁹ Milton follows suit on the few occasions when he feels

¹⁶To allow some sort of method in this rapid survey, I shall follow here the systematized scheme of Milton's thought I have drawn up in "La Pensée de Milton."

¹⁷Bohn edition.

¹⁸I, 21a, vol. I, p. 129; see also Karppe, pp. 342, 352, etc.

¹⁹See Karppe, p. 377, 378, etc. The quotations are too numerous to be given here; among others, see de Pauly, vol. I, p. 98, and VI, p. 119.

inclined to admit of the Holy Ghost; he makes of that being a third step, between the Son and the World, quite precisely inferior to the Son.²⁰

The three higher Sephiroth seem to have inspired Milton in his invocation to Urania, at the beginning of Book VII:

Before the hills appeared, or fountain flowed,
Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play
In presence of the Almighty Father, pleased
With thy Celestial song.

We know "Eternal Wisdom": it is the Logos, the Creative Son; but who is Urania, who has a place with Wisdom in the presence of the Father? A purely poetical personification? It would seem very bold here on Milton's part. Besides, Milton insists on her reality: "Thou art heavenly, she (the Muse) an empty dream." The *Zohar* explains her. The Father is the Crown, the first Sephira, too near as yet to the En Soph to be creative; Wisdom is, by name, the Wisdom of the Kabbalah. Urania then is the third Sephira "Intelligence," the sister of the second, as Milton well knows, and Milton applies to this "Intelligence" which he disguises as Urania, to be inspired by her: the proper power to be inspired by.²¹ And from these divine "recreations" the Creation came. Milton ascribes to these doings within the bosom of the divinity the sexual character which is so well marked in the *Zohar*; and that is the meaning of that terrible passage in *Tetrachordon* in which Milton invokes God's own example to justify man in his need of woman: "God himself conceals not his own recreations before the world was built; I was, said the Eternal Wisdom, daily his delight, playing always before him" and Solomon "sings of a thousand raptures between these two lovely ones, far on the hither side of carnal enjoyment."²²

No doubt Milton is quoting holy texts; but he adds another text: "before the world was built" and this is a relationship of cause to effect in the *Zohar*: the world is the outcome, the child

²⁰ *La Pensée de Milton*, p. 145.

²¹ See Karppe, p. 375.

²² *Tetrachordon*, pp. 329-330; see *La Pensée de Milton*, pp. 74-75; p. 170, etc.

of sexual life within the divinity, and Milton makes use of another kabbalistic law: life here below is the image of the Life within God: that is why man has need of woman.²³

But let us pass on to less delicate subjects.

Free-will is a natural consequence of the "retraction" of God, both in the *Zohar* and in Milton.²⁴ A connected idea in both cases is that of the usefulness of evil. Milton's texts are rightly celebrated:

Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably.—What wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evil?—I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed.²⁵

Thus also the *Zohar*:

Had not the Holy One—blessed be He!—created the spirit of good and the spirit of evil, man could have had neither merit nor demerit; that is the reason why God created him a mixture of the two spirits.²⁶

In both systems God has foreseen the use his creatures would make of their free will, and has provided for all the consequences, by his "preliminary decree," so that, as the *Zohar* has it: "The Spirit of Evil works his Master's will." Thus Milton's Satan is himself an instrument of God, and it is "fondly" that he thinks he can do anything to "damage" his Master.²⁷

The ontology is thus in complete concordance: God-Absolute and unmanifested, *Demiurge*, "retraction" of God and free will, necessity and usefulness of evil, preliminary decrees of God, are both in the *Zohar* and in Milton.

The same harmony exists in the cosmology, but for the difference insisted upon earlier. In the two systems, the Universe is made of one substance, and that unique substance is God himself. The theories of the *Zohar* on the "emanation" are well known and all through the *Zohar* flows a current of pantheism.²⁸ "All

²³ *Zohar*, vol. I, pp. 173, 353, 391; II, 432, etc., and *passim*, for the sexual life God—Matrona.

²⁴ Karppe, pp. 466, 478, etc.

²⁵ *Arcopagitica*.

²⁶ Vol. I, p. 142.

²⁷ *Zohar*, vol. IV, p. 105; *Pensée de Milton*, p. 136, "My damage fondly deemed," says God of Satan's activities (*P. L.*, VII, 152).

²⁸ Karppe, pp. 375, 407, etc. "One first matter all," says Milton, etc.; see Saurat, pp. 146 to 153 and *Zohar*, vol. V, 366.

souls form one Unity with the essential soul." And although the *Zohar* does not give up, as Milton does, the idea of a soul distinct from the body, yet it adopts this other idea, which bridges the difference, that there is no essential distinction between the body and the soul. This last is a Miltonic thesis also.

M. Karppe sums up the doctrine of the *Zohar* as follows:²⁹

The aim of the kabbalists being not to bring the En-Sof into direct contact with the Finite, it becomes necessary that the Crown (the first Sephira) be able to replace the En-Sof, and contain along with the spiritual principle the potentiality of the material—Matter is for the *Zohar* a degradation of the spiritual substance—the Crown is the whole of that substance, with its full potentialities.

That is all Miltonic thought.

Spirit being the more excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one, as the spiritual and rational faculty contains the corporal, that is, the sentient and vegetative faculty (*T. O. D.*, p. 181).

The original matter of which we speak is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock of every subsequent good; it was a substance, and derivable from no other source than the fountain of every substance (God). (*T. O. D.*, p. 179.)

This divine origin of the substance of which all beings are made has the same consequence in psychology and ethics, for Milton and for the *Zohar*: the physical instincts of the body are good and legitimate and, especially, sensuality is good and legitimate: both the poet and the Kabbalists find it in God himself, as we have seen. We need not therefore develop the point, beyond marking the extreme limit, common to both.

The *Zohar* proclaims several times that it is a sin to abstain from lawful sexual intercourse;³⁰ Milton is just as positive, with his

Who bids abstain,
But our destroyer, foe to God and man?

And Milton has shown us the example of physical love, in a passage which causes Raphaël himself to blush, among the angels also:

Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st
(And pure thou wert created) we enjoy. (VIII, 618.)

²⁹ P. 375.

³⁰ Vol. I, p. 290, II, 340, 642, etc.

But there is an evil sensuality, which in both systems is associated with the Fall. "Sexual desires" says the *Zohar* "are good or evil according to the spirit that prompts them."³¹ The whole argument of Milton on the subject in the treatises on Divorce is based upon that very principle.³² Therefore the history of the Fall is the same: the *Zohar* reads like a commentary on the IXth book of *Paradise Lost*:

The woman saw that the fruit was good to eat—she took and ate thereof. Those words refer to the first union of Adam and Eve. At first, Eve consented to the union solely because of her reflections on the usefulness of conjugal cohabitation,³³ and also because of the pure affection that bound her to Adam. But as soon as the serpent came into it, Scripture says "and gave thereof to her husband" their intercourse was no longer inspired by a pure affection—but she roused in him carnal desires.³⁴

All these elements are in the Miltonic tale of the Fall: the purity of sexual relationship before the Fall, the fruit considered as an aphrodisiac, sexual corruption following immediately upon the Fall, the first manifestation of it.³⁵

And the *Zohar* like Milton, can rise to generalisation from these facts: it has the great theory of the opposition between passion and reason, and derives it also from reflection upon sexual passion.

"Man," says Rabbi Yehouda,³⁶ "has three guides: Reason, inspired by the holy soul, passion, inspired by evil propensities, and the instinct of self-preservation, common to all men. Note that the evil Spirit can only act upon the last two guides. The guide called passion does not even wait for the Tempter—it runs to meet him, and it is this second guide which perverts the third by nature inoffensive."

This third guide Milton calls "desire" or "will," which is "by nature inoffensive." The poet describes the effects of sensuality on Adam and Eve:

For understanding (*the 1st guide*) ruled not, and the will (*the 3rd guide*)

³¹ Vol. I, p. 142.

³² *La Pensée de Milton*, p. 68 and p. 181.

³³ Let us note here another trait common to Milton and the *Zohar*: an occasional colossal lack of sense of humor.

³⁴ *Zohar*, vol. I, pp. 287-288.

³⁵ *La Pensée de Milton*, p. 164 gives the Miltonic texts.

³⁶ On the daughters of Loth, Vol. II, p. 691.

Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
To sensual appetite (*the 2nd*)³⁷

And again:

Reason in man obscured, or not obeyed (*1st*)
Immediately inordinate desires (*3rd*)
And upstart passions (*2nd*) catch the government
From reason.³⁸

Consequently, Milton's attitude to woman is much the same as that of the *Zohar*. For both, man without woman is an incomplete being. The *Zohar* frequently asserts the fact:³⁹ "The male form alone and the female form alone are each only one-half of a body." (The basis of these ideas is in the theories on primitive hermaphroditism; traces of which can thus be found in Milton's thought also.) Thus Adam explains to the Archangel that God

from my side subducting, took perhaps
More than enough⁴⁰

—man without woman is an incomplete being, hence his weakness before her. Then, woman, being the instrument of passion, is not so directly as man in relationship with God:

He for God only, she for God in him.

says Milton, and the *Zohar*:

Women do not possess the light of the Law, which is reserved to men, but they have the candle of the Sabbath, which brings them rewards.⁴¹

But quite a special dignity is given woman, in many passages. For the *Zohar*, woman remains on earth the expression of the *Matrona* "small in her exile, but powerful,"⁴² "the house is hers, and man is to consult her for all matters relating to the household;" "the union of man and woman must be voluntary on both sides."⁴³ Woman must never be considered as the passive instrument of pleasure; her consent must be obtained "by words of friendship and tenderness."⁴⁴

³⁷ *P. L.*, ix, 1135.

³⁸ Karppe, p. 426-427.

⁴¹ Vol. iv, p. 112.

⁴² Vol. i, p. 286.

³⁹ *P. L.*, xii, 85.

⁴⁰ *P. L.*, viii, 537.

⁴³ vi, p. 117.

This attitude of superiority mixed with respect and tenderness is quite precisely Milton's attitude to woman.⁴⁴

If we pass on to Milton's more particularly religious ideas, the conception of the "greater Man," of Christ, who is the whole body of the elect, of the intelligent, the problem becomes wider, it is a larger tradition than that of the *Zohar* which comes down to Milton. I have pointed out two main links in the chain in Plato and Origen.⁴⁵ But the tradition is in the Kabbalah also: the heavenly man, Adam-Kadmon, who is One, the prototype and also the whole of mankind, may have helped Milton towards his idea of the greater Man, Christ. In any case, there is harmony.

This parallel could be carried on *ad infinitum*. I shall only add here the mere statement that among others, the following Miltonic conceptions are also found in the *Zohar*:

That original sin takes place in each of us, and not once for all in Adam;

That, in God's intention, our bodies were to become spirits without having to go through death;

That there is in the Fall much that is good;

That there exist mysteries which it is fatal to unveil;

That God reveals himself to men according to their powers and not such as He is;

That the Holy Scripture has many meanings;

That external events, although real in themselves, are yet in a way only symbols of spiritual events, etc.

There is practically not one philosophical trait in Milton which is not to be found in the *Zohar*.

Does that mean that Milton derived all his ideas from the Kabbalah? That cannot be reasonably asserted. It seems to me:

1. That he obviously derived from the *Zohar* such peculiar conceptions as are found nowhere else, e. g. the idea of "retraction," his most fundamental idea.

2. That some ideas coming to him from other sources were strengthened by the *Zohar* into a maturity and importance they would not otherwise have reached.

3. That he found in the *Zohar* confirmation of again other ideas which belonged to a much wider tradition.

⁴⁴ *La Pensée de Milton*, Part II, chap. III.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

It is perhaps practically impossible—and it is of no real utility—to try to work out this division into the detail of the ideas.

What conclusions are we to draw from the facts?

The first is that Milton has used the *Zohar*; I see no other hypothesis covering the range of correspondences I have hardly done more than point out here.

The second is that Milton's originality as a thinker is much diminished and, indeed, practically reduced to the action of his intellect or feelings upon outside material which he appropriates and only arranges. Yet he remains a great thinker because he is still the representative of the modern mind in presence of the tremendous chaos of impossible ideas, puzzling myths and grotesque conceptions, of the *Zohar*. Milton has chosen warily; he has drawn from this confusion practically all the original or deep ideas that were acceptable to the cultured European. He has never been swept away by the element of intellectual and sentimental perversity which plays so great a part in the *Zohar*. In the presence of this new world rising on the European horizon, an undeniable greatness of character and of intellect was needed to maintain such an attitude; few of those who dealt intimately with the Kabbalah were able to do so.

Considering these new data, and Milton now appearing not as the creator but as the stage manager only of his philosophical ideas, the problem of Milton's thought is transformed and becomes:

Why and how did Milton come to adopt such ideas? Why did he give up the orthodox tradition of his time and adopt this kabbalistic tradition? The answer is to be found in the historical and psychological study of his life, of the evolution of his feelings and character, such as I have tried to lay the foundations of in my *Pensée de Milton*.

Milton's original value may thus be diminished, but his historical significance becomes much greater; he is no longer an isolated thinker, lost in seventeenth century England, without predecessors or disciples. He becomes at one given moment, the brilliant representative of an antique and complex tradition, which lasts and widens after him. For the problem becomes larger. Milton among the Kabbalists, that is a sort of gap blown into the very fortress of English literature, and much may here come in: the inexplicable relationship between Blake and Milton becomes

clearer for this common light;⁴⁶ Blake himself, in many points, is less of a puzzle; and this current broadens into the nineteenth century from Shelley to Whitman. But here it is no longer merely Milton and merely the *Zohar* that are in question; other influences are at work, and on others besides Milton. It becomes necessary to trace a whole stream of semi-occult ideas, flowing through the whole of modern literature, and taking in much of Goethe, Wagner and Nietzsche, much of Lamartine and Hugo.

From another point of view, if we remember what affection Milton felt for Sir Henry Vane the younger, what strange ideas Sir Henry indulged in, incomprehensible indeed to all in his time, what intimate relationship existed at one time between Vane and Cromwell, perhaps a new light may be thrown upon some still half obscure points of the history of revolutionary England, from which so much in the political modern world is derived.

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⁴⁶ See on this Saurat, *Blake and Milton*, Paris, Librairie Felix Alcan.

MILTON AND GALILEO

BY ALLAN H. GILBERT

Galileo the astronomer is the only one of Milton's contemporaries who obtained a place in *Paradise Lost*. This discoverer of new truths about the material universe seemed to the poet the one among the men he knew whose name posterity would most unwillingly let die. Yet he had seen Galileo not as the triumphant herald of new discoveries, but as one of the martyrs of science.

"I found and visited," he writes in the *Areopagitica*, "the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought." This visit represents the poet's love for freedom of thought, which was itself enough to direct his attention to a man suffering under tyranny, especially ecclesiastical tyranny, for truth's sake. Yet his sympathy with Galileo was also the expression of his desire for scientific teaching truer than the decadent Aristotelianism which found a champion in the church that had silenced the great astronomer.

The chief evidence of Milton's early rebellion against the school of thought that condemned Galileo is found in his university orations, one of which is entitled *Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam*. He writes in the spirit of Bacon:

Cui et hoc egregium afferet compendium, si quis norit et artes utiles, et utilia in artibus recte seligere. Quot sunt imprimis Grammaticorum et Rhetorum nugae aspernabiles! Audias in tradenda arte sua illos barbare loquentes, hos infantissimos. Quid Logica? Regina quidem illa artium si pro dignitate tractetur. At heu quanta est in ratione insania! Non hic homines, sed plane Acanthides carduis et spinis vescuntur. O dura Messorum ilia! Quid repetam illam, quam Metaphysicam vocant Peripatetici, non artem inquam plerumque, sed infames scopulos, sed Lernam quandam Sophismatum ad naufragium et pestem excogitatem? Haec illa quae supra memini togatae ignorantiae vulnera sunt. Haec eadem cucullorum scabies etiam ad naturalem philosophiam late permanavit; vexet mathematicos demonstrationum inanis gloriola; his omnibus quae nihil profutura sunt merito contemptis et amputatis, admirationi erit quot annos integros lucrabimur.¹

¹ *Prolusio* 8, p. 466 (*The Works of Milton*, Pickering edition, Boston, 1851, vol. 7).

By the example of Aristotle,² Milton endeavors to encourage his hearers to studies more profitable than quarrels about words. He strongly recommends the natural sciences, among them astronomy:

Nec vos clam sit quid sibi velit aut Jupiter aut Natura, cum dirus atque ingens Cometa coelo saepe minitatur incendium, nec vos vel minutissimae lateant stellulae, quotquot inter polos utrosque sparsae sunt, et dispalatae: immo solem peregrinantem sequamini comites, et ipsum tempus ad calculos vocate, aeternique ejus itineris exigite rationem.³

In another list of delightful studies, astronomy ("omnem coeli syderumque morem")⁴ comes first. In this respect for Aristotle, the youthful Milton agrees with Galileo, who had a good word for the philosopher himself, though he did not approve of the methods of the Peripatetics. He thus condemns the disciples by the example of the master:

Dico, che noi aviamo nel nostro secolo accidenti e osservazioni nuove e tali, ch'io non dubito punto, che se Arisottile fusse all'età nostra, muterebbe opinione; il che manifestamente si raccoglie dal suo stesso modo di filosofare; imperocchè, mentre egli scrive di stimare i Cieli inalterabili ec. perchè nissuna cosa nuova si è veduta generarvisi o dissolversi delle vecchie, viene implicitamente a lasciarsi intendere, che quando egli avesse veduto uno di tali accidenti, avrebbe stimato il contrario.⁵

But though Milton respected Aristotle, he was far from being a Peripatetic. In a university oration entitled *De Sphaerarum Concentu* he takes the side of Pythagoras against Aristotle. A difference on the music of the spheres does not now seem of scientific moment, yet in Milton's day Pythagoras was opposed to Aristotle as the upholder of the belief that the earth moves. Copernicus himself set out from the speculations of Pythagoras, and Galileo speaks of the "opinione Pittagorica della mobilità della Terra."⁶ Consequently, if Milton was ready to prefer Pythagoras to Aristotle in one matter, we may suspect equal readiness in others.

Milton was interested in mathematics—a subject which devoted Aristotelians believed unnecessary, since they could depend on the

² *Prolusio* 3, p. 430.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁴ *Prolusio* 8, p. 462.

⁵ *Dialogo intorno ai due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico e copernicano*, p. 58 (Le Opere di Galileo Galilei, Firenze 1842, vol. 1). Cf. p. 146.

⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 11.

words of their master.⁷ Galileo, however, used mathematics freely, and looked forward to further developments in the subject. When Milton resided at Horton he was in the habit of repairing to London "for learning . . . the mathematics."⁸ This sets him among the Pythagoreans rather than among the Aristotelians.

Though natural science appeared to the young Milton so important that he urged its study on his fellow students, and though he was early inspired with the spirit of resistance to the scholastics, we do not know that in his youth he became familiar with the Copernican astronomy. From his early writings we would infer that he did not. Scarcely one of the poems written before his journey to Italy is without references to astronomy, yet these references are invariably Ptolemaic. In the poem entitled *De Idea Platonica Quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit* he mentions the "ordines decemplicis" of the sky, and in *Comus* he wrote:

We that are of purer fire
Imitate the starry quire,
Who in their nightly watchful spheres,
Lead in swift round the months and years.⁹

The large number of astronomical passages in the earlier poems cannot be explained by literary convention; in youth the poet must have laid the foundation for the astronomical knowledge evident in his later writings.

But notwithstanding the evidence of his early poetry, Milton probably learned of the Copernican doctrines either during his college career or in the course of his private studies at Horton. In their general circulation, the new astronomical theories could not have failed to reach a man of his intellectual curiosity. And the writings of Galileo were, we are told, "largely read in England."⁹ There are in the British Museum ms. translations of some of his works, including his *Dialogue on the Two Principal*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸ *The Earliest Life of Milton*, p. xxiv (in *Of Education*, etc. edited by Laura E. Lockwood, Boston, 1911). Milton himself writes: *Rus urbe mutarem . . . gratia . . . aut novum quidpiam in mathematicis vel in musicis, quibus tum oblectabar, addiscendi* (*Defensio Secunda*).

⁹ Lines 111-14.

⁹ J. J. Fahie, *Galileo, His Life and Work*, London, 1903, p. 424. Salusbury's translation of the *Dialogue* was printed in 1661.

Systems of the World. This or some other translation was mentioned to Galileo by an English traveler, perhaps Hobbes, in 1633. Galileo and two of his friends are the speakers in *Astrologorum Concessus*, one of a series of essays by George Fortesque, entitled *Feriae Academicæ*, which appeared in London in 1630. Hence it is possible that Milton visited Galileo partly as a result of interest in the astronomer's writings.

Yet even in mentioning his visit, in the *Areopagitica*, he does not assert his belief that Galileo was right. However, his purpose was not to uphold the correctness of any particular opinions, but to declare that all should be tolerated. He had no occasion for announcement—against the convictions of a large number of his English readers—that he held the views of Galileo. And if he did hold them, he did not make them a matter of conscience, or insist on propagating them. On the contrary, he seems to have acted as though Galileo's theories were not established, for after his return from Italy he apparently taught the old astronomy in his school. His pupils read the *Astronomica* of Manilius, an Augustan poet, and used as a text-book a popular manual by Joannes de Sacrobosco, entitled *De Sphaera Mundi*. Unless Milton supplemented this by explanations of his own, his pupils gained no knowledge of the Copernican system.¹⁰

Moreover, his casual references in his prose writings are not Copernican. In *Tetrachordon* (1645) we read:

Nature hath her Zodiac also, keeps her great annual circuit over human affairs as truly as the sun and the planets in the firmament, hath her anomalies, hath her obliquities in ascensions and declinations, accesses and recesses, as blamelessly as they in heaven.¹¹

Elsewhere¹² he speaks of "comets and impressions in the air." Galileo held that comets were not heavenly bodies but atmospheric phenomena,¹³ vapors which rose from the earth to a great height, even above the moon, "without meeting any obstacle in the impenetrability of the Peripatetic sky" which he believed "more yielding

¹⁰ Even the supplementary matter in the editions of *De Sphaera Mundi* that I have examined contains no Copernican teachings.

¹¹ P. 248, edition cited, vol. 4.

¹² *Of Reformation in England*, book 2, p. 45, edition cited, vol. 3.

¹³ Fahie, *Galileo*, p. 181.

and thin than our air.”¹⁴ Hence Milton’s “impressions in the air,” as well as the “aerial vapors”¹⁵ like which souls rose to the Limbo of Vanities, may have come from Galileo. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* Milton remarks of attempts to explain the words of Jesus in Matthew 19. 8-9:

Both which are too foul hypotheses to save the phenomena of our Savior’s answer to the Pharisees about this matter. And I trust anon by the help of an infallible guide to perfect such Prutenick Tables as shall mend the astronomy of our wide expositors.¹⁶

The Prutenic Tables were made by Erasmus Reinhold, “who, although not admitting the Earth’s motion, professed a great admiration for the system of Copernicus, and used it in computing new astronomical tables, the ‘Prutenicae Tabulae’ (1551), which were largely instrumental in introducing to astronomers the kinetic combinations originated by Copernicus. The ‘Prutenicae Tabulae’ were especially employed by the commission which in 1582 effected the Gregorian reform of the calendar. Whilst not believing in the Earth’s motion, the members of this commission did not hesitate to use tables founded on a theory of the precession of the equinoxes and attributing a certain motion to the earth.”¹⁷ Hence, to use the Prutenic Tables was not of necessity to adhere to Copernicus.

Passing from Milton’s prose writings to *Paradise Lost*, we find that though Galileo receives high honor, the astronomical references of the poems are not chiefly Copernican. Some are neutral, neither Ptolemaic nor Copernican, many clearly Ptolemaic, and a less, though considerable, number as clearly Copernican. In addition, Milton debates the merits of the two systems.

Of his neutral references, some are popular, as when he writes, just as we now might:

The setting sun
Slowly descended, and with right aspect
Against the eastern gate of paradise
Levelled his evening rays.¹⁸

Some show classical influence, as when we read that

¹⁴ *Dialogo*, p. 60.

¹⁵ *P. L.* 3. 445.

¹⁶ Book 1, chap. 2.

¹⁷ Professor Pierre Duhem, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 9. 54.

¹⁸ *P. L.* 4, 540-3.

the sun
Declined was hasting now with prone career
To th' Ocean Isles.¹⁹

The form of the following is determined by the Bible:

The sun shall in mid heaven stand still
A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
Man's voice commanding, Sun in Gibeon stand.²⁰

Some are indeterminate, and would be acceptable either to Ptolemy or Copernicus. Of this sort is Milton's conception of the universe as limited and globular.

A considerable number of passages are clearly Ptolemaic; the following are representative. Milton says of the souls which rise from earth as they pass toward the Limbo of Vanities:

They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixt,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that first moved.²¹

These are the ten spheres of the old astronomy. In their morning hymn Adam and Eve show familiarity with the Ptolemaic scheme:

Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
Acknowledge him thy greater, sound his praise
In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
And when high noon hast gained, and when thou fall'st.
Moon, that now meetst the orient sun, now fli'st
With the fixt stars, fixed in their orb that flies,
And ye five other wandring fires that move
In mystic dance not without song, resound
His praise.²²

Adam is also a Ptolemaic when he attempts to induce Raphael to prolong his visit by saying:

Scarce the sun
Hath finished half his journey, and scarce begins
His other half in the great zone of heaven.²³

In describing the angelic dance Raphael uses a Ptolemaic illustration:

Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
Of planets and of fixt in all her wheels

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 4. 352-4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 5. 171-9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 12. 263-5.

²² *Ibid.*, 5. 558-60.

²³ *Ibid.*, 3. 481-3.

Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular then
Most, when most irregular they seem.²⁴

In telling of the creation he makes the sun

jocund to run

His longitude through heaven's high road,

and says of the moon:

Less bright the moon

But opposite in levelled west was set,
His mirror with full face borrowing her light
From him, for other light she needed none
In that aspect, and still that distance keeps
Till night. Then in the west her turn she shines,
Revolved on heaven's great axle.²⁵

Here we have not merely the revolution of all the heavens about the earth, but also the conception of the moon as smooth and polished like a mirror. This was a Peripatetic belief. Satan is also a Ptolemaic; he thus addresses the earth:

Terrestrial heaven, danced round by other heavens
That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
Light above light, for thee alone, as seems,
In thee concentrating all their precious beams
Of sacred influence. As God in heaven
Is centre, yet extends to all, so thou
Centring receiv'st from all these orbs.²⁶

These and other passages that might be added show that Milton naturally and easily wrote in Ptolemaic terms.

But over against these are expressions of Copernicanism the more striking in number because both popular and poetic usage were on the other side. Milton often refers to the telescope with approval, yet at the time of its invention some of the Aristotelians refused even to look through the instrument, and others declared that it was deceptive.²⁷ In his *Dialogue* Galileo makes the Peripatetic say:

Nè ho sin qui prestato molta fede all'occhiale novamente introdotto; anzi, seguendo le pedate degli altri filosofi peripatetici miei consorti, ho creduto esser fallacie e inganni dei cristalli quelle che altri hanno ammirate per operazioni stupende.²⁸

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 5. 620-4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7. 372-81.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9. 103-9.

²⁷ Fahie, pp. 100 ff.

²⁸ *Dialogo*, p. 366.

Milton's complete acceptance of the telescope is a long step toward approval of the Galilean astronomy, which depended on telescopic demonstrations.

Milton follows the new astronomy in describing the moon:

The moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan Artist views
At evening from the top of Fesole,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.²⁰

The rough and irregular character of its surface was one of the matters on which Galileo insisted against the followers of Aristotle. He discusses the subject at length, and describes many experiments proving that if the surface of the moon were like a mirror it could not give light as it does.²⁰ Many of the eminences of the moon were, he writes, "simili alle nostre più aspre e scoscese montagne."²¹ He speaks also of the "piazze" of the moon, and of open spaces more and less shining. In mentioning "rivers" Milton is not following Galileo, who held that there was no water on the moon.²²

The sun-spots to which Milton compares Satan (*P. L.* 3. 588) were phenomena to which Galileo had given much study. About the time he discovered them they were also observed by Christopher Scheiner, a Jesuit father, who explained them as little planets moving around the sun within the orbit of Mercury. Others made them "vane illusioni de cristalli" in the telescope. Galileo came to the conclusion that the spots were attached to the solar disc, and that their motion was caused by the rotation of the sun. Having established this, he pointed out that the apparent movements of the spots could be caused only by movements of the earth.²³ Milton seems to accept Galileo's observations and conclusions in the passage:

A spot like which perhaps
Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb
Through his glazed optic tube yet never saw.²⁴

The logical conclusion of this belief is acceptance of the motions of the earth.

²⁰ *P. L.* 1. 287-91. ²¹ *Dialogo*, pp. 78 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁴ *Dialogo*, pp. 60 ff., 375 ff., 384.

²⁵ *P. L.* 3. 588-90.

Some of Milton's expressions about the earth itself are also in the manner of Galileo. In describing the creation he wrote:

Earth self-balanced on her centre hung.³⁵

Galileo considers the earth a "corpo pensile e librato sopra'l suo centro,"³⁶ and as "sospesa e librata nella circonferenza dell' orbe magno" of its orbit. Milton also makes the earth one of the heavenly bodies. Satan in looking on the universe for the first time asks:

In which of all these shining orbs hath man
His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell?³⁷

Uriel answers:

Look downward on that globe whose hither side
With light from hence, though but reflected shines;
That place is earth, the seat of man.³⁸

Galileo's opponents denied that the earth could shine like the other heavenly bodies, but he was convinced that it was illumined by the sun and gave off light in the same manner as the moon.³⁹ Indeed, he makes it one of the planets, as Milton tells that Raphael saw it as he descended,

Not unconform to other shining globes.⁴⁰

This may mean no more than that the earth gave off light as did the moon. Yet perhaps Milton had its motion also in mind, for Galileo used the similarity of the earth to the planets in its reflection of light to establish a probability that it must like them be mobile, while the sun and fixed stars, which shine with their own light, do not revolve.⁴¹

One of Galileo's discoveries was that the planet Venus goes through phases like those of the moon, and consequently shines by light reflected from the sun. He also inferred from her phases that she revolved about the sun. To her crescent shape and reflected light Milton refers in the lines:

Hither as to their fountain other stars

³⁵ *P. L.* 7. 242.

³⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 135.

³⁷ *P. L.* 3. 668-70.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3. 722-4.

³⁹ *Dialogo*, p. 76, 80, 108.

⁴⁰ *P. L.* 5. 259.

⁴¹ *Dialogo*, p. 290.

Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
And hence the morning planet gilds his horns."⁴³

It is unlikely that Milton did not accept the necessary conclusion, indicated by Galileo,⁴³ that the planet revolved about the sun. Galileo explains that Copernicus, unable, without the telescope, to see the phases of Venus, and hence believing her always round, thought that "la sua materia fusse tale che potesse imbeversi del lume solare e quello trasmettere per tutta la sua profondità, sì che potesse mostrarcisi sempre resplendente."⁴⁴ Milton echoes these words when he speaks of the sun as

made porous to receive
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gathered beams."⁴⁵

Yet curiously enough in this context Milton speaks of the "small peculiar" light of the planets—something in which Galileo did not believe. The Peripatetics held that the moon had a small amount of light of her own,⁴⁶ pointing out that her entire disc was visible when only part of it was brightly illuminated. This Galileo⁴⁷ attributed to light reflected from the earth, and not to light peculiar to the moon. Continuing, Milton speaks of the light of the stars as

from human sight
So far remote, with diminution seen."⁴⁸

Perhaps this is based on Galileo's statements about the apparent size of the planets. When observed with the naked eye, Venus sometimes appears eight or ten times larger than Jupiter, but when observed through the telescope, the disc of Jupiter appeared four or more times larger, "ma la vivacità dello splendor di Venere era incomparabilmente maggiore della luce languidissima de Giove; il che da altro non procedeva, che dall' esser Giove lontanissimo dal Sole e da noi, e Venere vicina a noi e al Sole."⁴⁹

The ancient idea that the fixed stars were fastened on their sphere as on a ceiling had been abandoned by the Peripatetics, who held that there were two concentric spheres between which the fixed stars were placed at varied distances from the earth. Galileo

⁴³ *P. L.* 7. 364-6.

⁴⁴ *P. L.* 7. 361.

⁴⁵ *P. L.* 7. 368-9.

⁴⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 364.

⁴⁷ *Dialogo*, pp. 78 ff.

⁴⁸ *Dialogo*, p. 369.

⁴⁹ *Dialogo*, p. 364.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

made this sphere of extent so vast as practically to destroy it, holding that some of the stars were "due e tré volte più remote di alcune altre."⁵⁰ He also discussed the possibility that the fixed stars possessed motion somewhat like that of the planets.⁵¹ He held it more probable, however, that they were truly fixed, and did not "go wandering" each for itself, even though he also believed that the sky was not solid, but fluid, so as to permit free motion. The fixed stars were of vast size, much greater than the earth;⁵² Galileo speaks of them as suns,⁵³ not less resplendent than the sun itself with their own peculiar light. Something of this may appear in Milton's description of the flight of Satan through the heaven of the fixed stars;

From pole to pole
He views in breadth, and without longer pause
Down right into the world's first region throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
Through the pure marble air his oblique way
Amongst innumerable stars, that shone
Stars distant, but nigh hand seemed other worlds.⁵⁴

Galileo by means of the telescope had learned that the number of the stars was much greater than had been supposed, and that the Milky Way, hitherto a "matter of controversy among philosophers,"⁵⁵ was made up of stars indistinguishable by the naked eye. Milton's reference is wholly Galilean:

that milky way
Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest
Powdered with stars.⁵⁶

These passages show that Milton took as a matter of course various beliefs from the new astronomy; this familiarity with its details suggests that he believed in its general principles. Yet the transition between the old and the new was so gradual that any or all of Milton's evident Copernican beliefs might be favorably regarded by one not prepared to make the final assertion of the mobility of the earth and the fixed position of the sun. Milton nowhere takes

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁵² *Dialogo*, p. 297.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁵⁴ *P. L.* 3. 560-6.

⁵⁵ Galileo's Letter to Belisario Vinta, quoted by Fahie, p. 86.

⁵⁶ *P. L.* 7. 579-81.

this for granted or asserts it; he mentions it always as something possible, but yet hypothetical, and a subject for debate.

In several passages the poet or one of his characters explains some astronomical matter according to both old and new systems, without deciding that either is true. The most considerable of these debates is that into which the Angel Raphael is led by the questions of Adam.⁵⁷ In thus presenting the matter as debatable, Milton has truly represented his age, which halted between two opinions. In setting the two systems over against one another, he has followed the most representative astronomical work of his day, Galileo's *Dialogo intorno ai due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico e copernicano*. The beginning of the Eighth Book of *Paradise Lost* is an untechnical summary of this work, by a master of compression who caught the spirit of that with which he dealt. Few will read Galileo's *Dialogue*, and indeed few need to, so long as we have *Paradise Lost*, for Milton has represented Galileo with such understanding and skill that the astronomical part of *Paradise Lost* shows the poet at his best in his function of giving permanent form to the spirit of his age.

Galileo published his *Dialogue*⁵⁸ in the year 1632, with the purpose of exhibiting the points at issue between the old and the new astronomy, and showing the superiority of the new. It was written with great caution, for the Copernican system was not acceptable to the authorities of the Church, and Galileo's earlier works had rendered him an object of suspicion to the Inquisition. Hence the author does not state plainly the truth of the Copernican system, and does not represent the upholder of the Peripatetic astronomy as convinced of his errors. Yet even when allowance is made for Galileo's too-well-founded fears of the Inquisition, something of the undogmatic character of the work can still be attributed to the modesty of the author in the face of matters which he in his wisdom knew that he was ignorant of. About what he has actually observed Galileo is sure enough; doubts appear only when observation ceases.

The Copernican side of the discussion is upheld by Salviati, who represents Galileo's opinions. The character of an eager but

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8. 1-198.

⁵⁸ It occupies five hundred pages in the edition of 1842.

critical enquirer into the truth, friendly to the new astronomy, is sustained by Sagredo. The Peripatetics are represented by Simplicio, who clings to the old beliefs, though he does not appear wholly unreceptive.

But whether or not Galileo's enforced respect for the Inquisition led to essential alterations in his *Dialogue*, Milton in following the scientist takes him at his word, as though he had no doubt that Galileo was putting forth his genuine sentiments. Indeed, in *Paradise Lost* the poet gives more weight to the side of Ptolemy than Galileo allows it. Not merely is Milton's discussion like that of Galileo in employing the form of the dialogue, but many of the details are also similar. A verbal resemblance between *Paradise Lost* and the Italian work is, indeed, not proof of borrowing, for Milton had read other books on astronomy, but all the circumstances make clear Milton's familiarity with this—the chief representative of its type—even though he took from other sources or developed for himself part of what he might have found in it.

The first suggestion of astronomical uncertainty in *Paradise Lost* occurs in Milton's description of Satan's flight into the universe from the foot of the stairs leading up to the Empyrean Heaven. Satan plunges down into the "world's first region"—that of the fixed stars—and bends his course toward the sun,

but up or down
By centre, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude, where the great luminary
Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenses light from far; they as they move
Their starry dance in numbers that compute
Days, months, and years, towards his all-cheering lamp
Turn swift their various motions, or are turned
By his magnetic beam."²

The doubt here is concerning the position of the sun in the universe; will Satan reach it by going toward the centre of the world; or is it out of the centre, and if so in what direction? In this—the chief matter of debate between Copernicans and Ptolemaics—Milton will not express an opinion. As to some lesser matters, the distance of the fixed stars from the sun is discussed in Galileo's

² P. L. 3. 574-583.

Dialogue. Salviati believed that some of them were much farther removed than others, and that all were at an almost incredible distance, so far that annual movements of the earth, very evident in Saturn, would not be noticeable in the fixed stars.⁶⁰ This, with its assumption of a great interval between Saturn and the fixed stars, is unacceptable to Simplicio,⁶¹ though he is willing to admit that the fixed stars are far away. The remainder of Milton's passage is apparently confused. He speaks of the "starry dance" as though attributing it to the fixed stars; this, however, is unlikely; as the name of these stars indicates, their motion was held to be only with the sphere containing all of them. On the other hand, the movement of the planets is often called a dance.⁶² Whether the earth is to be included among these dancing bodies is not stated. Consistency with line 722 might require it, but it is hardly probable that Milton here intended to imply that the earth revolved about the sun. The Ptolemaics were aware that the other planets moved about the sun;⁶³ hence the passage is not of necessity Copernican. At its end comes a further alternative: the planets move either of themselves, or as a result of the "magnetic beam" of the sun. Galileo speaks of the natural motion of the heavenly bodies, which, because of their perfection, is circular. This motion came from God. Galileo makes no attempt to account for the celestial movements by anything like gravitation. He was, however, familiar with the work of the father of magnetic studies, William Gilbert. When Simplicio asks Salviati whether he is one of the adherents to the magnetic philosophy of Gilbert, he answers: "Sono per certo."⁶⁴ He makes use of the magnetic theory to explain that the earth maintains its position as does the magnetic needle, but does not suggest magnetic relations with other heavenly bodies. In fact Galileo does not attempt a scientific explanation of the relations of the heavenly bodies. Yet in *De Magnete*, which Galileo probably read in 1602, Gilbert suggests magnetic relations between the earth and the moon. It is probable that Milton knew of the writings of Gilbert, and derived thence his conception of the magnetic influence of the sun.

⁶⁰ *Dialogo*, p. 390.⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 399.⁶² E. g., *P. L.* 5. 178.⁶³ *Dialogo*, pp. 353 ff., 371.⁶⁴ *Dialogo*, p. 433.

In his account of the alterations made in the earth in order to change its equable climate after the fall of man, Milton again presents an astronomical uncertainty:

Some say he bid his angels turn askance
The poles of earth twice ten degrees and more
From the sun's axle; they with labor pushed
Oblique the centric globe: some say the sun
Was bid turn reins from th'equinoctial road
Like distant breadth.⁶⁵

Here the question is between sun and earth. The second alternative is Ptolemaic in that it involves the motion of the sun. The first, with its adaptation of earth to sun, perhaps implies that the sun is the centre of the universe.⁶⁶ This problem of the inclination of the axis of the earth was debated by Galileo's characters. Sagredo says:

Il Copernico pone la sfera stellata immobile e il Sole nel centro di essa parimente immobile. Adunque ogni mutazione che a noi apparisca farsi nel Sole o nelle Stelle fisse, è necessario che sia della Terra, cioè nostra. Ma il Sole si alza e si abbassa nel nostro meridiano per un arco grandissimo, quasi di 47 gradi, e per archi ancora maggiori e maggiori varia le sua larghezze ortive e occidue negli orizzonti obliqui: or come può mai la Terra inclinarsi e rilevarsi tanto notabilmente al Sole, e nulla alle Stelle fisse, o per si poco, che sia cosa impercettibile? Questo è quel nodo che non è possuto mai passare al mio pettine.⁶⁷

Salviati later explains in detail, saying in part:

E qui e da notare un accidente maraviglioso, che è: che siccome il conservar l'asse della Terra la medesima direzione verso l'Universo, o vogliamo dire verso la sfera altissima delle Stelle fisse; fa che il Sole ci appare elevarsi e inclinarsi per tanto spazio, cioè per gradi 47, e niente inclinarsi o elevarsi le Stelle fisse, così all'incontro, quando il medesimo asse della Terra si mantenesse continuamente con la medesima inclinazione verso il Sole, o vogliam dire verso l'asse del Zodiaco, nessuna mutazione apparirebbe farsi nel Sole circa l'alzarsi e abbassarsi; onde gli abitatori dell'istesso luogo sempre avrebbero le medesime diversità dei giorni e delle notti, e la medesima costituzione di stagioni, cioè altri sempre Inverno, altri sempre State, altri Primavera, ec.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ P. L. 10. 668-73.

⁶⁶ "Centric" (line 671) probably means not *central*, but *having a centre*; cf. P. L. 7. 242.

⁶⁷ *Dialogo*, p. 411.

⁶⁸ *Dialogo*, p. 427.

In a third passage Milton comes to the chief point at issue, speaking of

the Sun now fallen
Beneath th'Azores; whither the prime orb
Incredible how swift, had thither rolled
Diurnal, or this less volubil earth
By shorter flight to th'east, had left him there.*

Here he merely states the difference, with no attempt to debate it. Yet he gives indications that he was familiar with the arguments on either side. Galileo⁷⁰ has Simplicio tell of a machine moving so slowly as to make but one revolution in twenty-four hours. Yet if the semi-diameter were prolonged to the sun, the velocity of an object at its end would be very great. Hence the earth is called "less voluble," that is, less swiftly turning, than the sun. Galileo often refers to the argument that the heavenly bodies would be forced to "una celerità incomprendibile"⁷¹ in order to revolve about the earth, while the earth could bring day and night by a less rapid movement.

In the passages indicating astronomical doubt thus far mentioned, the poet has spoken in his own person, revealing his uncertainty or his deference to both of the opposite opinions. In the longest and most important passage the chief speaker is the Angel Raphael, sent from heaven to answer Adam's "desire of knowledge." Hence it is probable that his words represent what seemed to Milton the truth. We observe that they bear close affinity to the *Dialogue* of Galileo.

Adam opens the conversation by speaking of the world as a "goodly frame." The word "frame," meaning fabric or structure, a favorite of Milton's, is similar to Galileo's "macchina,"⁷² which appears in the following passage, spoken by Simplicio:

A che fine e a beneficio di chi sono macchine tanto vaste? prodotte forse per la Terra, cioè per un picciolissimo punto? e perchè tanto remote acciocchè appariscano tantine, e niente assolutamente possa operare in

* P. L. 4. 591-5.

⁷⁰ *Dialogo*, p. 293.

⁷¹ *Dialogo*, p. 429.

⁷² See also p. 430. For the force of the word, compare Wordsworth's "the very pulse of the machine" (*She was a phantom of delight* 22). Milton uses the expression "machina mundi" in his poem *Naturam non pati senium* 69. It often occurs in the *De Sphaera* of Joannes de Sacrobosco (e. g., p. 4, edition of Paris, 1608), the textbook of astronomy used by Milton's pupils.

Terra? e a che proposito una spropositata immensa voragine tra esse e Saturno? frustratorie sono tutte quelle cose, che da ragioni probabili non son sostenute.⁷³

This is Adam's thought of the trivial appearance of the earth in comparison with the size of the heavens:

When I behold this goodly frame, this world
Of heaven and earth consisting, and compute
Their magnitudes, this earth a spot, a grain,
An atom, with the firmament compared
(And all her numbered stars, that seem to roll
Spaces incomprehensible (for such
Their distance argues and their swift return
Diurnal) merely to officiate light
Round this opacous earth, this punctual spot,
One day and night; in all their vast survey
Useless besides, reasoning I oft admire,
How nature wise and frugal could commit
Such disproportions.⁷⁴

With Milton's firmament and her "numbered," that is, numerous,⁷⁵ stars, we may compare Galileo's "Cielo altissimo . . . che seco porti l'innumerabil moltitudine delle stelle fisse, corpi tutti vastissimi e maggiori assai della Terra, e di più tutte le sfere dei pianeti, ancorchè e questi e quelle per lor natura si muovano in contrario."⁷⁶ Milton's "spaces incomprehensible" remind us of Simplicio's statement:

Non si nega che'l Cielo non possa superare di grandezza la nostra immaginazione, come anco l'aver potuto Dio crearlo mille volte maggiore di quello che è.⁷⁷

The diurnal movement of the distant fixed stars as a proof of the immensity of their orbits, suggests Salviati's words:

Quando si voglia ritener la Terra immobile, è necessario, dopo l'esser passati dal periodo brevissimo della Luna agli altri conseguentemente maggiori, sino a quel di Marte in due anni, e di lì a quel della maggiore sfera di Giove in anni dodici, e da questa all'altra maggiore di Saturno,

⁷³ *Dialogo*, p. 402. For similar expressions, see pp. 128-9, 135, 389.

⁷⁴ *P. L.* 8. 15-27.

⁷⁵ This sense is not given in the *New English Dictionary*, but I believe it correct here. Cf. *P. L.* 3. 565; 5. 745.

⁷⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 134.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 399. Cf. p. 429.

il cui periodo è di trent'anni, è necessario, dico, trapassare ad un'altra sfera incomparabilmente maggiore, e farla finire una intera rivoluzione in ventiquattr'ore."⁷⁹

The function of the stars as "merely to officiate light" to the earth, and as otherwise useless, is also mentioned by Simplicio:

Ma quanto queste condizioni arrecano di nobiltà alla Terra, altrettanto renderebbero i corpi celesti più imperfetti, nei quali esse sarebbero superflue; essendo che i corpi celesti, cioè il Sole, la Luna e l'altra stella, che non sono ordinati al altro uso, che al servizio della Terra, non hanno bisogno d'altro per conseguire il loro fine, che del moto e del lume."⁸⁰

That the earth is, as Adam says, "opacous," that is, not luminous, was the firm belief of Simplicio. Salviati, on the other hand, though admitting that the earth was "per sè stessa oscura e opaca," thought that through her "opacità" she was the more "atta a ricevere e a ripercuotere il lume del Sole."⁸⁰

Adam's admiration, as he reasons on the disproportion between the earth and the vast heavens, is that of some of Galileo's characters. Indeed his chief argument against the Ptolemaic system is that one must "admire" its disproportion. Salviati asks:

Ora, se per conseguire il medesimo effetto *ad unguem*, tanto fa se la sola Terra si muova, cessando tutto il resto dell'universo, che se, restando ferma la Terra sola, tutto l'universo si muova di un inteso moto, chi vorrà credere che la natura (che pur per commun consenso non opera con l'intervento di molte cose quel che si può fare col mezzo di poche) abbia eletto di far muovere un numero immenso di corpi vastissimi, e con una velocità inestimabile, per conseguir quello che col movimento mediocre di un solo intorno al suo proprio centro poteva ottenersi?⁸¹

This conception of "nature wise and frugal" is accepted by both parties. Simplicio is equally sure "che la natura non manca nè soprabbonda nelle cose necessarie."⁸² The nobility of the celestial bodies was firmly maintained by Simplicio, who speaks of them as "ingenerabili, incorruttibili, inalterabili,"⁸³ and "di tanto nobiltà" that they are wholly different from the earth, which is a

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133. Cf. pp. 129, 131.

⁸⁰ *Dialogo*, p. 68. Cf. pp. 399-400.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72. Cf. p. 181, *infra*.

⁸² *Dialogo*, p. 130. Cf. pp. 68, 138, 429.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 821. Cf. pp. 68, 69, 399-400, 429.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54. Cf. pp. 23, 41, 68, 96.

“sentina di tutte le materie corrutibili.”⁸⁴ Adam’s idea, common in popular astronomy, that “number fails” to describe the swiftness of the stars is applied by Salviati to their distance:

Vorrei, signor Simplicio, che, sospesa per un poco l’affezione che voi portate ai seguaci della vostra opinione, mi diceste sinceramente, se voi credete che essi nella mente loro comprendano quella grandezza, che dipoi giudicano non poter per la sua immensità attribuirsi all’Universo; perchè io, quanto a me, credo di no: e mi pare che siccome nell’apprension de’ numeri, come si comincia a passar quelle miglia di milioni l’imagination si confonde, nè può più formar concetto, così avvenga ancora nell’apprender grandezze e distanze immense, sì che intervenga al discorso effetto simile a quello che accade al senso, che mentre nella notte serena io guardo verso le Stelle, guidico al senso la lontananza loro esser di poche miglia, nè esser le Stelle fisse punto più remote di Giove o Saturno, anzi pur nè della Luna.⁸⁵

After Adam has spoken, the angel takes up the discourse, first commending Adam for his desire to read the heavens as “the book of God,” and thus confirming Adam’s earlier saying, when he asked Raphael for information:

We, not to explore the secrets ask
Of his eternal empire, but the more
To magnify his works, the more we know.⁸⁶

This is in harmony with Salviati’s thought of seeking out “la ricchezza della natura e l’onnipotenza del Creatore e Governatore.”⁸⁷ And in Galileo’s dedication to Ferdinando de’ Medici, he writes:

Il volgersi al gran libro della Natura, che è il proprio oggetto della filosofia, è il modo per alzar gli occhi: nel qual libro, benché tutto quel che si legge, come fattura d’artefice onnipotente, sia per ciò proportionatissimo, quello nientedimeno è più spedito e più degno, ove maggiore al nostro vedere apparisce l’opera e l’artificio.⁸⁸

In the mouth of Sagredo he puts the declaration:

Io stimerei . . . la natura aver fatte prima le cose a suo modo, e poi fabbricati i discorsi umani abili a poter capire (ma però con fatica grande) alcuna cosa de’suoi segreti.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁸⁵ *Dialogo*, p. 398.

⁸⁶ *P. L.* 7. 95-7.

⁸⁷ *Dialogo*, p. 114. Cf. p. 117.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

Milton felt, however, that God had given man but a partial understanding of nature:

The rest

From man or angel the great architect
 Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
 His secrets to be scanned by them who ought
 Rather admire; or if they list to try
 Conjecture, he his fabric of the heavens
 Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
 His laughter at their quaint opinions wide.⁹⁰

Galileo also realized that astronomy had not progressed far:

Molto ragionevolmente dubitate, e io, all'istanza rispondendo, dico, che, benché l'astronomia nel corso di molti secoli abbia fatto gran progressi nell'investigar la costituzione e i movimenti dei corpi celesti, non però è ella sin qui arrivata a segno tale che moltissime cose non restino indecise, e forse ancora molt'altre occulte.⁹¹

Hence he has Salviate rebuke Simplicio for thinking fully to understand the book of nature:

Finalmente io ti domando, o uomo sciocco: Comprendi tu con l'immaginazione quella grandezza dell'universo, la quale tu giudichi poi esser troppo vasta? Se la comprendi, vorrai tu stimare che la tua apprehensione si estenda più che la Potenza Divina? Vorrai tu dir d'immaginati cose maggiori di quelle, che Dio possa operare? Ma se non la comprendi, perchè vuoi apportar giudizio delle cose da te non capite? ⁹²

Continuing, Milton represents the divine architect as moved to laughter at the attempts of astronomers to "save appearances." This expression, a translation of the Greek *σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα*, was the stock expression of Renaissance astronomers for the construction of hypotheses to account for what they saw in the heavens. A scholar of our day comments on the conception as follows:

Copernicus and his disciple Rhaeticus very probably regarded the motions which their theory ascribed to the Earth and the planets, the sun's rest and that of the firmament of fixed stars, as the real motions or real rest of those bodies. The "De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium Libri Sex" appeared with an anonymous preface which inspired an entirely different idea. This preface was the work of the Lutheran theologian Osiander (1498-1552), who therein expressed the opinion that the hypotheses expressed by philosophers in general, and Copernicus in particular, were in

⁹⁰ P. L. 8. 71-8.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 399. Cf. p. 114.

⁹² *Dialogo*, p. 492.

no wise calculated to acquaint us with the reality of things: "Neque enim necesse est eas hypotheses esse veras, imo, ne verisimiles quidem, sed sufficit hoc unum si calculum observationibus congruentem exhibeant." Osiander's view of astronomical hypotheses was not new. Even in the days of Grecian antiquity a number of thinkers had maintained that the sole object of these hypotheses was to save appearances, σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα, and in the Middle Ages, as well as in antiquity, this method continued to be that of philosophers who wished to make use of Ptolemaic astronomy whilst at the same time holding the Peripatetic physics absolutely incompatible with this astronomy. Osiander's doctrine was therefore readily received first of all by the astronomers who, without believing the Earth's motion to be a reality, accepted and admired the kinetic combinations conceived by Copernicus, as these combinations provided them with better means than could be afforded by the Ptolemaic system for figuring out the motion of the moon and the phenomena of the precession of the equinoxes.⁸³

Galileo frequently employs the expression "save the phenomena," as when Salviati says that he is able "agevolmente salvar tante stravaganti apparenze nei movimenti delle macchie solari,"⁸⁴ or that he can give "adequate ragioni di tutte quelle medesime apparenze."⁸⁵ Hence we may infer that in *Paradise Lost*, as in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*,⁸⁶ Milton uses the word in its sober scientific meaning.

Raphael's somewhat comic account of the means employed to save appearances—"centric and eccentric," "cycle and epicycle, orb in orb"—is also Galilean:

Ma che diremo noi dell'apparente movimento dei pianeti tanto difforme, che non solamente ora vanno veloci e ora più tardi, ma talvolta del tutto si fermano, e anco dopo per molto spazio ritornano indietro? per la quale apparenza salvare, introdusse Tolomeo grandissimi Epicicli, adattandone un per uno a chiascedun pianeta con alcune regole di moti incongruenti, li quali tutti con un semplicissimo moto della Terra si tolgono via.⁸⁷

In giving the progress of astronomical study, Salviati remarks:

Molti più anni e da credere che passassero avanti che fossero osservate le stazioni e retrogradazioni dei tre superiori, come anco gli accostamenti e discostamenti dalla Terra, occasioni necessarie dell'introdur gli Eccen-

⁸³ Pierre Duhem, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 9. 54.

⁸⁴ *Dialogo*, p. 386.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 429. Cf. pp. 97, 132, 356, 366, 368, 372, 429, 455, 479.

⁸⁶ P. 156, *supra*.

⁸⁷ *Dialogo*, p. 373.

trici e gli Epicicli, cose incognite sino ad Aristotile, giacchè ei non ne fa menzione.⁹⁸

A chief cause of Adam's wonder about the universe is that

Nature wise and frugal could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler bodies to create,
Greater so manifold to this one use,
For aught appears, and on their orbs impose
Such restless revolution day by day
Repeated, while the sedentary earth,
That better might with far less compass move,
Served by more noble than herself, attains
Her end without least motion.⁹⁹

On the question of the relative nobility of the earth and the heavenly bodies, the angel suggests to Adam that

the earth
Though, in comparison of heaven so small,
Nor glistening, may of solid good contain
More plenty than the sun that barren shines,
Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
But in the fruitful earth; there first received
His beams, unactive else, their vigor find.¹⁰⁰

This matter is discussed at length in the *Dialogo*. Simplicio holds that the celestial bodies, as a sign of their perfection, are unalterable, and hence without generation. Sagredo, however, thinks that it would add to their perfection if they produced something:

Se all'eternità dell'intero globo terrestre non è punto pregiudiziale la corruptibilità delle parti superficiali, anzi questo esser generabile, corruptibile, alterabile ec. gli arreca grand'ornamento e perfezione, perchè non potete, e dovete voi ammetter alterazioni, generazioni ec. parimente nelle parti esterne dei globi celesti, aggiugnendo loro ornamento, senza diminuirgli perfezione, o levargli le azioni, anzi accrescendoglielle, col far che non solo sopra la Terra, ma che scambievolmente fra di loro tutte operino, e la Terra ancora verso di loro? ¹⁰¹

But Simplicio is sure that the heavenly bodies act only on the earth:

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

⁹⁹ *P. L.* 8. 26-35.

¹⁰⁰ *P. L.* 8. 91-7.

¹⁰¹ *Dialogo*, p. 69.

I corpi celesti, cioè il Sole, la Luna e l'altre stelle, che non sono ordinati ad altro uso, che al servizio della Terra, non hanno bisogno d'altro per conseguire il lor fine, che del moto e del lume.¹⁰³

He declares further that there can be no generation on the moon, for such activity would be useless and vain, and it is the dictum of Aristotle that "natura nihil frustra facit." It would be vain,

Perchè noi chiaramente veggiamo e tocchiamo con mano, che tutte le generazioni, mutazioni ec. che si fanno in Terra, tutte, o mediatamente, o immediatamente, sono indirizzate all'uso, al comodo, e al beneficio dell'uomo: per comodo degli uomini nascono i cavalli, per nutrimento de' cavalli produce la Terra il fieno, e le nugole l'adacquano; . . . in somma, se noi anderemo diligentemente esaminando e risolvendo tutte queste cose, troveremo il fine, al quale tutto sono indirizzate, esser il bisogno, l'utile, il comodo e il diletto degli uomini. Or di quale uso potrebbero esser mai al genere umano le generazioni, che si facessero nella Luna o in altro pianeta? se già voi non voleste dire, che nella Luna ancora fossero uomini, che godesser de'suoi frutti; pensiero o favoloso o empio.¹⁰³

This resembles the angel's suggestion:

Yet not to earth are those bright luminaries
Officious, but to thee earth's habitant.¹⁰⁴

Man cannot, however, hope to know the use of the "heavens' wide circuit," it is

Ordained for uses to his lord best known.¹⁰⁵

Galileo was well aware of man's ignorance. Sagredo thinks that there may be in the heavenly bodies beings "non solamente diverse dalle nostre, ma lontanissime dalla nostra immaginazione, e in somma del tutto a noi inescogitabili."¹⁰⁶ Salviati replies:

Io son molte volte andato fantasticando sopra queste cose, e finalmente me pare di poter ritrovar bene alcune delle cose, ce non sieno, nè possano esser nella Luna; ma non già veruna di quelle, che io creda che vi sieno e possano essere, se non con una larghissima generalità, cioè, cose che l'adornino operando e movendo e vivendo, e forse con modo diversissimo dal nostro, veggendo e ammirando la grandezza e bellezza del Mondo e del suo Facitore e Rettore, e con encomi continui cantando la sua gloria; e in somma (che è quello che io intendo) facendo quello tanto frequente-

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁴ *P. L.* 8. 98-9.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8. 106.

¹⁰⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 70.

mente dagli scrittori sacri affermato, cioè una perpetua occupazione di tutti le creature in laudare Iddio.¹⁰⁷

This question of possible inhabitants in the heavenly bodies had occurred to Milton. He is unwilling to admit that the Limbo of Vanities is situated in the moon:

Those argent fields more likely habitants,
Translated saints, or middle spirits hold
Betwixt th'angelical and human kind.¹⁰⁸

The stars may also have their inhabitants; we read of Satan's flight among them:

He . . . winds with ease
Through the pure marble air his oblique way
Amongst innumerable stars, that shone
Stars distant, but nigh hand seemed other worlds, . . .
Thrice happy isles, but who dwelt happy there
He stayed not to enquire.¹⁰⁹

The angel Raphael, suggesting to Adam the vast extent of the universe, says that the other planets which he perhaps will descry may be

Stored in each orb perhaps with some that live.
For such vast room in nature unpossesst
By living soul, desert and desolate,
Only to shine, yet scarce to contribute
Each orb a glimpse of light, conveyed so far
Down to this habitable, which returns
Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.¹¹⁰

The angel employs the Copernican belief¹¹¹ that the earth, though inhabited, gives light to the stars, to raise a probability that the stars, which give light to the earth, are also inhabited, and not, as the Ptolemaics held,¹¹² incapable of producing anything.

But man should not expect to understand the mysteries of the heavens, for, as Sagredo humbly expresses it:

Grandissima mi par l'inezia di coloro, che vorrebbero che Iddio avesse fatto l'Universo più proporzionato alla piccola capacità del lor discorso, che all'immensa, anzi infinita sua potenza.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁸ *P. L.* 3. 460-2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 3. 561-71.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8. 152-8.

¹¹¹ See p. 169, *supra*, and p. 181, *infra*.

¹¹² *P.* 173, *supra*.

¹¹³ *Dialogo*, p. 402. Cf. pp. 114, 399.

Continuing his thought that the uses of the heavens are known to God alone, the angel instructs Adam thus:

The swiftness of those circles attribute,
Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could add
Speed almost spiritual.¹¹⁴

The idea of the effect of the spiritual on the material is Aristotelian, but is not brought forward by Simplicio. Galileo does not have his interlocutors discuss the cause of the heavenly movements further than to attribute them to nature and to God.¹¹⁵

Yet after Milton's angel has spoken "admitting motion in the heavens" he continues:

Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
To thee who hast thy dwelling here on earth.¹¹⁶

Similarly Salviati says:

Eccovi . . . le ragioni potissime . . . che hanno relazione all'apparenze celesti, le quali ragioni tendon veramente più a dimostrar l'esser la Terra nel centro dell'universo, e a spogiarla in conseguenza del movimento annuo intorno ad esso attribuitogli dal Copernico, le quali, come di materia alquanto differente, si potranno produr dopo che avremo esaminata la forza di queste fin qui proposte.¹¹⁷

Raphael next passes directly to the question at issue:

What if the sun
Be centre to the world, and other stars
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds.¹¹⁸

The "attractive virtue" of the sun, as we have observed, is not mentioned in the *Dialogue*, though the movement of the heavenly bodies is spoken of as natural.¹¹⁹ The wandering courses of the planets,

now high, now low, then hid
Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,¹²⁰

are commonplaces of Ptolemaic astronomy. Galileo deals with them as such:

¹¹⁴ *P. L.* 8. 107-10.

¹¹⁵ *Dialogo*, p. 126.

¹¹⁶ *P. L.* 8. 117-18.

¹¹⁷ *P. L.* 8. 126-7.

¹¹⁸ *Dialogo*, p. 148.

¹¹⁹ *P. L.* 8. 122-5.

¹²⁰ *Dialogo*, pp. 20 ff.

In Tolomeo bisogna assegnare ai corpi celesti movimenti contrari, e far che tutti si muovano da levante a ponente, e insieme insieme da ponente verso levante; che nel Copernico son tutte le rivoluzioni celesti per un sol verso, da occidente in oriente. Ma che diremo noi dell'apparente movimento dei pianeti tanto difforme, che non solamente ora vanno veloci e ora più tardi, ma talvolta del tutto si fermano, e anco dopo per molto spazio ritornano indietro? ¹²¹

He then explains how these "esorbitanze" are simplified by the Copernican system. ¹²²

The angel then continues:

What if seventh to these
The planet earth, so steadfast though she seem,
Insensibly three different motions move? ¹²³

Galileo's belief was that the Earth should be placed "in ischiera con le stelle," ¹²⁴ and numbered "tra quelli che noi chiamo corpi celesti." ¹²⁵

The apparent fixity of the earth, the inhabitants of which have no sensation of movement, was to Simplicio a strong argument against its motion. He brings up a variety of proofs, such as that this motion would throw off all unattached objects, that a ball dropped from the summit of a tower would not fall at its base, and that we should continually perceive a rushing wind. ¹²⁶ Salviati shows that none of these effects would be produced, but that the movement of the earth is, as Miltons' angel puts it, insensible:

Qualunque moto venga attribuito alla Terra, è necessario che a noi, come abitatori di quella e in conseguenza partecipi del medesimo, ei resti del tutto impercettibile, e come s'e'non fusse, mentre che noi riguardiamo solamente alle cose terrestri; ma è bene all'incontro altrettanto necessario che il medesimo movimento ci si rappresenti comunissimo di tutti gli altri corpi e oggetti visibili, che essendo separati della Terra mancano di quello. ¹²⁷

To this investigation much of the second day of the *Dialogue* is devoted. Salviati explains that the air and all things on the surface of the earth participate in its motion, which is no more disturbing than is the regular movement of a boat to the passen-

¹²¹ *Dialogo*, p. 373.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 373 ff.

¹²³ *P. L.* 8. 148-50.

¹²⁴ *Dialogo*, p. 109.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 139 ff.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

gers in its cabin.¹²⁸ Only by observing the position of the earth with respect to the heavenly bodies can its motion be perceived. Milton's angel sums up Salviati's idea when he enquires whether the earth

from west her silent course advance
With inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps
On her soft axle, while she paces even,
And bears thee soft with the smooth air along.¹²⁹

A further argument by Simplicio is that even if the earth had motion, it could have but one:

D'un mobile semplice, un solo e non più può essere il moto che gli convenga naturalmente, e gli altri tutti per accidente e per partecipazione, in quel modo che a colui, che passeggia per la nave, suo moto proprio è quello del passaggio, e per partecipazione quello che lo conduce in porto, dove egli mai col passeggio non sarebbe arrivato, se la nave col moto suo non ve l'avesse condotto. . . . Aristotile vi dice, che siccome d'un mobile uno è il moto, così di un moto uno è il mobile, e in conseguenza, che senza l'inerenza del suo soggetto, non può nè essere, nè anco immaginarsi alcun movimento.¹³⁰

The accidental motions to which Simplicio refers are those which the heavenly bodies were supposed to derive from the *primum mobile*. But the earth, if it moved according to Galileo's belief, would have all its motions in independence. These motions, Simplicio supposed, were three; after referring again to Aristotle's dictum on simple bodies and simple motions, he continues:

Qui alla Terra, corpo semplice, vengono assegnati 3 se non 4 movimenti e tra di loro molti differenti; poichè oltre al moto retto, come grave, verso il centro, che non se gli può negare, se gli attribuisce un moto circolare in un gran cerchio intorno al Sole in un anno e una vertigine in sè stessa in ventiquattr'ore. E quello poi che è più esorbitante, e che forse perciò voi lo tacevate, un'altra vertigine intorno al proprio centro, contraria alla prima delle ventiquattr'ore, e che si compie in un anno. A questo l'intelletto mio sente repugnanza grandissima.¹³¹

Salviati explains that the last motion is not real:

Quanto poi al terzo moto attribuitole dal Copernico in sè stessa in un

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278. Cf. pp. 139 ff. Galileo was aware that the trade winds are caused by the rotation of the earth (p. 474).

¹²⁹ *P. L.* 8. 163-6.

¹³⁰ *Dialogo*, p. 135.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

anno, solamente per conservare il suo asse inclinato e diretto verso la medesima parte del Firmamento, vi dirò cosa degna di grandissima considerazione; cioè, che *tantum abest* che (benchè fatto al contrario dell'altro annuo) in esso sia repugnanza o difficoltà alcuna, che egli naturalissimamente e senza veruna causa motrice compete a qualsivoglia corpo sospesa e librato; il quale, se sarà portato in giro per la circonferenza di un cerchio, immediate per sè stesso acquista una conversione circa 'l proprio centro contraria a quella che lo porta intorno, e tale in velocità, che amendue finiscono una conversione nell'istesso tempo precisamente. . . . Se poi andrete più accuratamente considerando, vi accorgerete quest'esser non cosa reale, ma una semplice apparenza; e quello che vi assembrava essere un rivolgersi in sè stesso, essere un non si muovere e un conservarsi del tutto immutabile rispetto a tutto quello che fuor di voi e del vaso ¹²³ resta immobile.¹²⁴

Continuing his discourse to Adam, the angel says that if movement is not attributed to the earth, the motions of the planets

to several spheres thou must ascribe,
Moved contrary with thwart obliquities.¹²⁴

These motions of the spheres were the first requirements of the Ptolemaic astronomy, and their complication was a source of trouble to all astronomers. Salviati says:

Il principale scopo dei puri astronomi è il render solamente ragione delle apparenze nei corpi celesti, e adesso ai movimenti delle Stelle adattare tali strutture e composizioni di cerchi, che i moti secondo quelle calcolati rispondano alle medesime apparenze, poco curandosi de ammetter qualche esorbitanza, che in fatto per altri rispetti avesse del difficile. E l'istesso Copernicano scrive aver egli ne'primi suoi studi restaurata la scienze astronomica sopra le medesime suppositizione di Tolomeo, e in maniera ricorretti i movimenti dei pianeti, che molto aggiustatamente rispondevano i computi all'apparenze, e l'apparenze ai calcoli, tuttavia però che se prendeva separatamente pianeta per pianeta. Ma soggiugne che nel voler poi comporre insieme tutta la struttura delle fabbriche particolari ne risultava un mostro e un chimera composta di membra tra di loro sproporzionatissime e del tutto incompatibili; sì che, quantunque si soddisfacesse alla parte dell'astronomo puro calcolatore, non però ci era la soddisfazione e quiete dell'astronomo filosofo.¹²⁵

On the contrary and oblique movements of the spheres, Salviati says:

In Tolomeo bisogna assegnare ai corpi celesti movimenti contrari, e far

¹²³ Used by Salviati in an experiment to prove his principle.

¹²⁴ *Dialogo*, p. 431. Cf. p. 444. ¹²⁵ *P. L.* 8. 431-2. ¹²⁶ *Dialogo*, p. 372.

che tutti si muovano da levante a ponente, e insieme da ponente verso levante; che nel Copernico son tutte le rivoluzioni celesti per un sol verso, da occidente in oriente. . . . E non chiamereste voi, signor Simplicio, grandissimo assurdo, se nella costruzione di Tolomeo, dove a ciascun pianeta sono assegnati propri orbi, l'uno superiore all'altro, bisognasse bene spesso dire che Marte costituito sopra la sfera del Sole calasse tanto, che rompendo l'orbe solare sotto a quello scendesse, e alla Terra più che il corpo solare si avvicinasse, e poco appresso sopra il medesimo smisuratamente si alzasse? E pur queste e altre esorbitanze dal solo e semplicissimo movimento annuo della Terra vengono medicate.¹²⁶

Under the old system the immediate motive force of the spheres was the *primum mobile*,

that swift
Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb supposed
Invisible else above all stars, the wheel
Of day and night.¹²⁷

Simplicio has full faith in this as the cause of the diurnal movement of the heavens. His words suggest its imaginary and invisible character as a creation of astronomers:

Hanno ritrovata gli astronomi e i filosofi un'altra sfera altissima senza stelle, alla quale naturalmente compete la conversione diurna, e questa hanno chiamata il primo mobile, il quale poi rapisce seco tutte le sfere inferiori, contribuendo e partecipando loro il movimento suo.¹²⁸

Sagredo in his reply refers to it as "incognita," and, with a touch which suggests Milton's "save the sun his labor," calls the conditions of the *primum mobile* "strane e laboriose." But all of this, Raphael says,

needs not thy belief,
If earth industrious of herself fetch day
Travelling east, and with her part averse
From the sun's beams meet night, her other part
Still luminous by his ray.¹²⁹

This is the idea of Sagredo when he says:

Fate che la Terra sia il primo mobile, cioè fatela rivolgere in sè stessa in ventiquattr'ore e per il medesimo verso che tutte le altre sfere, che senza partecipar tal moto a nessun altro pianeta o stelle, tutte avranno i lor orti, occasi, e in somma tutte l'altre apparenze.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 373. Cf. pp. 131, 134-6, 296, 429.

¹²⁷ *P. L.* 8. 133-6.

¹²⁸ *P. L.* 8. 136-40.

¹²⁹ *Dialogo*, p. 136.

¹³⁰ *Dialogo*, p. 136.

Salviati is of the same opinion :

Ed ecco con due semplicissimi movimenti fatti dentro a'tempi proporzionati alle grandezza loro e tra sè non contrarianti, anzi fatti, come tutti gli altri de' corpi mondani, mobili da occidente verso oriente, assegnati al globo terrestre, rese adequate ragioni di tutte quelle medesime apparenze, per le quali salvare con la stabilità della Terra è necessario (renunziando a quella simmetria che si vede tra le velocità e le grandezze dei mobili) attribuire ad una sfera vastissima sopra tutte le altre una celerità incomprendibile, mentre le altre minori sfere si muovano lentissimamente; e più far tal moto contrario al movimento di quelle, e, per accrescere l'improbabilità, far che da quella superiore sfera sieno contro alla propria inclinazione rapite tutte le inferiori.¹⁴¹

This great disparity between the elaborate machinery of the old system and the simple explanations of the new is Galileo's chief argument.

If the earth moves as a planet, she like them gives light to the other heavenly bodies :

What if that light
Sent from her through the wide transpicious air,
To the terrestrial moon be as a star
Enlightening her by day, as she by night
This earth? ¹⁴²

The possibility that the earth gave light to the moon was affirmed by Salviati :

La riflessione della Terra possa illuminar la parte tenebroso della Luna con luce non minor di quella, con la quale la Luna illustra le tenebre della notte, anzi tanto più, quanto che la Terra è quaranta volte maggior della Luna.¹⁴³

He adds further :

Ma sarebber ben degni di riprensione, se mentre vogliono che noi concediamo e crediamo a loro, che la Luna operi in Terra col lune, e volessin poi a noi, che gli aviamo insegnato che la Terra illumina la Luna, negare l'azione della Terra nella Luna.¹⁴⁴

Simplicio is, naturally, unwilling to receive this, and replies :

In somma io sentio in me un'estrema repugnanza nel potere ammettere questa società, che voi vorreste persuadermi tra la Terra e la Luna,

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 429. Cf. pp. 152, 284, 296, 297, 398.

¹⁴² *P. L.* 8. 140-4. Cf. *P. L.* 8. 157, and pp. 169 and 175, *supra*.

¹⁴³ *Dialogo*, p. 102. Cf. pp. 73-113.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

ponendola, come si dice, in ischiera con le stelle; chè quando altro non ci fusse, la gran separazione e lontananza tra essa e i corpi celesti, me par che necessariamente concluda una grandissima dissimilitudine tra loro.¹⁴⁵

To admit that the earth like the moon gave light carried with it the belief that the surface of the moon was like that of the earth, and not, as Simplicio believed, "pulitissima e tersa."¹⁴⁶ Salviati, as we have seen,¹⁴⁷ explains that its surface is varied and mountainous. Galileo was, however, unwilling to affirm the possibility of inhabitants on the moon. Simplicio characterizes such a thought as "o favoloso o empio." Sagredo thinks that the moon, though habitable, may be occupied by beings beyond man's power to imagine:

Ma non intendo già come, tuttavoltachè non vi si generino cose simili alle nostra, si deva di necessità concludere, che niuna alterazione vi si faccia, nè vi possano essere altre cose, che si mutino, si generino e si dissolvano, non solamente diverse dalle nostre, ma lontanissime dalla nostra immaginazione, e in somma del tutto a noi inescogitabili.¹⁴⁸

Salviati is also unwilling to affirm anything.¹⁴⁹

Continuing the dialogue, Milton's angel suggests other solar systems:

Other suns perhaps
With their attendant moons thou wilt decry.¹⁵⁰

Here the "moons" are apparently the planets, which shine only with reflected light, as Salviati explains,¹⁵¹ and the "suns" are the fixed stars, to which he refers as "tanti Soli."¹⁵²

Raphael again states the main issue and advises Adam on it:

Whether the sun predominant in heaven
Rise on the earth, or earth rise on the sun,
He from the east his flaming road begin,
Or she from west her silent course advance, . . .
Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him serve and fear;
Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
Wherever placed, let him dispose: joy thou
In what he gives to thee, this paradise

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁷ P. 159, *supra*.

¹⁴⁸ *Dialogo*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71, quoted on p. 174, *supra*.

¹⁵⁰ P. L. 8. 148-9.

¹⁵¹ *Dialogo*, p. 291.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

And thy fair Eve: heaven is for thee too high
 To know what passes there; be lowly wise:
 Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
 Live, in what state, condition or degree,
 Contented that thus far hath been revealed
 Not of earth only but of highest heaven.¹⁵³

Galileo was aware of the inadequacy of man's mind to grasp at once the full truth of nature, and felt that many things were "hid" from the wisest.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, man can gain profit from the study of nature, according to what Salviati calls the "dottrina divina"

la quale mentre ci concede il disputare intorno alla costituzione del Mondo, ci soggiugne (forse acciò che l'esercizio delle menti umane non si tronchi o anneghittisca) che non siamo per ritrovare l'opera fabbricata dalle sue mani. Vaglia dunque l'esercizio permessoci e ordinatoci da Dio per riconoscere e tanto maggiormente ammirare la grandezza sua, quanto meno ci troviamo idonei a penetrare i profondi abissi della sua infinita sapienza.¹⁵⁵

This is Milton's

the more
 To magnify his works, the more we know.¹⁵⁶

He also expresses it by putting in the angel's mouth:

To ask or search I blame thee not, for heaven
 Is as the book of God before thee set,
 Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
 His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years.¹⁵⁷

The man of science speaks of the "gran libro della Natura,"¹⁵⁸ from which could be learned "le meraviglie di Dio nel Cielo."¹⁵⁹ The poet and the scientist are at one in their conviction that man's knowledge of nature is limited and inadequate, and that nevertheless the study of created things offers an avenue toward the world of spiritual truth.

The question is asked: With which astronomer did Milton agree, Galileo or Ptolemy? But this is not the matter of greatest importance. Milton understood Galileo and applauded his studies, while at the same time using without hesitation the ideas of the

¹⁵³ *P. L.* 8. 167-78.

¹⁵⁴ *Dialogo*, p. 492. Quoted on p. 171, *supra*.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 502. Cf. pp. 114, 117, 292, 399, 402.

¹⁵⁶ *P. L.* 7. 96-7.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8. 66-9.

¹⁵⁸ *Dialogo*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Cf. pp. 71, 114.

older astronomy. And it would have been folly in Milton to have decided with certainty either for or against the Copernican view. Indeed, Huxley is credited with the remark that in his opinion the Ptolemaics of Galileo's time had rather the better of the argument. Until the publication of Newton's *Principia* in 1687, the Copernican system did not have an assured basis. To expect Milton to pass beyond interest in Galileo and consideration of his views as possible and probable, and definitely declare for Copernicus, is to ask him to do what only a professional astronomer had a right to do.

Had Milton been an astronomer, he would doubtless have been a Copernican. But as a poet he spoke in terms understood by his readers. The average educated man of his day was familiar with and accepted Ptolemy, and could best be addressed in Ptolemaic language. Above all, Milton as a poet did not feel it his first business to be a teacher of astronomy, and to discuss controverted questions for the sake of enlightening his readers on recent advances in astronomical science. So far as the poet is a teacher of astronomy, he subordinates the subject to the higher purposes of poetry, sometimes that the truth may appear more "eloquently dressed," sometimes that the science may assist in showing forth the "throne and equipage of God's almightiness."

Milton was not a partisan of either system, and did not care which finally proved true. What he demanded was that students of science set themselves to their enquiries with diligence, and speak like his truth-loving author in the *Areopagitica*:

When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which done, he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him.

And the scientist must be left free to set forth the result of his enquiries. Scientific truth is not final, but always subject to improvement. Hence Milton felt no certainty that the Ptolemaic system could stand indefinitely. Yet, on the other hand, imperfect understanding of nature which had been secured by proper effort was of value, and need not be rejected as worthless. Though scholars should be unflagging in their search for the truth, the ordinary man need not feel dissatisfied with the state of knowledge in his day. A scientific conclusion even when on the point of

supersedure might serve high ends, that is, it might aid man to "attain the knowledge of God and things invisible" through "orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature." Even though the Ptolemaic system were inferior to the Copernican, it was the result of long and patient study, and hence contained a portion of truth which could serve some of the best purposes of the scientific explanation of nature.

Milton held that neither of the two rival systems was so certainly superior to the other as to justify man in interrupting the "sweet of life" by anxiety about the proper choice. This is the meaning of the angel's exhortation:

Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above.

The theme of the folly of mental striving to the neglect of the fundamentals of morality and happiness is one of high import to Milton. At the end of his experience Adam comes to the conclusion:

Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deemed weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simply meek, that suffering for truth's sake
Is fortitude to highest victory,
And to the faithful death the gate of life.

To this the angel replies:

This having learnt, thou hast attained the sum
Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the stars
Thou knew'st by name, and all th'ethereal powers,
All secrets of the deep, all nature's works,
Or works of God in heaven, air, earth, or sea.¹⁰⁰

The wisdom that guides daily life aright is the highest; other learning is its handmaid. Only at man's peril can the knowledge of the material world be set above the practise of the good life.

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¹⁰⁰ P. L. 12. 561-71. Cf. 8. 191-7.

MARLOWE'S VERSIFICATION AND STYLE

By TUCKER BROOKE

Since Greene sneered enviously at 'that Atheist Tamburlan' and the 'mad and scoffing poets . . . bred of *Merlin's* race . . . that set the end of scholarism in an English blank verse,' and Jonson paid his tribute to 'Marlowe's mighty line,' the poet's fame has rested chiefly upon his exquisite mastery of blank verse. During the fifty years which preceded the composition of *Tamburlaine*, this metre had been employed by a considerable variety of English writers. A complete list of the extant efforts would include the following:

The Earl of Surrey's translation of books ii and iv of the *Æneid*.

Two short narrative poems by Nicholas Grimald, *The Death of Zoroas* (115 lines) and *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death* (88 lines), published in Tottle's Miscellany, 1557.

Sackville and Norton's play of *Ferrex and Porrex*, or *Gorboduc*, modelled on Seneca, 1561.

The tragedy of *Jocasta*, translated from the Italian by Gascoigne and Kinwelmarsh, 1566.

Turberville's *Heroical Epistles of Ovid*, a translation of six of the *Heroides*, 1567.

Spenser's fifteen 'sonnets' in Van der Noodt's Theatre 1569.¹

Gascoigne's *Steel Glass*, a satire upon contemporary London life, 1576.

A poem of 170 lines in Barnabe Riche's novel, *Don Simonides* (2nd. tome), 1584.

Certain parts of Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, of which the greater portion is in riming couplets.

Also Peele's *Lines to Th. Watson* (11 lines), prefixed to the latter's *Hekatompathia*, 1582, and the opening speech of Peele's *Device of the Pageant* before Wolstan Dixi, 1585 (53 lines).

Possibly, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, by Thomas Hughes and others, 1587. (There is no positive evidence that this work antedated *Tamburlaine*.)

The rather modest merits of these precursors of Marlowe have been copiously investigated and analyzed.² Professor Creizenach

¹ Collier (*Poetical Decameron*, 1820, i. 95 ff.) calls attention to the "specimen of peculiar blank verse" in the August eclogue of the *Shepherds' Calendar* (ll. 151-189).

² Cf. Arnold Schroeer, *Ueber die Anfänge des Blankverses in England*, *Anglia* iv. 1-72 (1881); Joseph B. Mayor, *Chapters on English Metre*, 2nd.

has set forth the dubious claims of Lyly;³ Professor Gummere those of Peele.⁴ It is of course certain that the lines of the latter poet show an enormous advance over Surrey's in accuracy and melodiousness; yet the general feeling that the real significance of blank verse began with *Tamburlaine* remains critically unassailable.⁵ That play signalized the adolescence of English blank verse by endowing it with two qualities previously lacking: it first made it native to the genius of the English language, and made it the characteristic vehicle of expression of an individual poet.

Hallam pointed out the probability that Surrey's experiment was suggested by the fact that Cardinal Ippolito de Medicis (or Francesco-Maria Molza) had previously rendered the second book of the *Aeneid* into Italian blank verse (*sciolti versi*). The un-English character of the versification is noted on the title-page of the second edition of Surrey's work (book iv), which calls it a 'straunge meter'; and it was consciously as a strange or foreign metre that blank verse was employed in England throughout the period before Marlowe. It seems to have been valued chiefly

ed., 1901, ch. ix, *The Blank Verse of Surrey and Marlowe*; Van Dam and Stoffel, *History of the Structure of the Blank-Verse Line* (ch. xii of *William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text*); Rudolph Imelmann, *Zu den Anfängen des Blankverses . . . Sh.-Jb.*, 1905.

³ These depend upon giving an early date (ca. 1584) to Lyly's one comedy in blank verse, *The Woman in the Moon*. For the improbability of such a date, cf. Feuillerat, *John Lyly*, 579 f.

⁴ *Representative English Comedies*, I, 339 f.

⁵ 'If Marlowe did not re-establish blank-verse, which is difficult to prove, he gave it at least a variety of cadence, and an easy adaptation of the rhythm to the sense, by which it instantly became in his hands the finest instrument that the tragic poet has ever employed for his purpose, less restricted than that of the Italians, and falling occasionally almost into numerous prose, lines of fourteen syllables being very common in all our old dramatists, but regular and harmonious at other times as the most accurate ear could require.' Hallam, II, 375.

'What makes his career almost a literary miracle is the fact that he created a style and manner of writing which in its essentials has remained unchanged to the present day. Behind Marlowe, English poetry may be beautiful, interesting, truthful to Nature, inspired, what you will, but it is confessedly archaic, mediaeval, unmodern.' Anonymous reviewer in *Spectator*, Sept. 19, 1891.

as a proper means of translating or simulating the exotic grace of Latin quantitative verse. Grimald's Death of Zoroas is translated, with some amplification, from the Latin of Gautier de Chatillon's *Alexandreis*;⁶ and his other poem from his contemporary Beza's *De Morte Ciceronis*.⁷ The authors of *Ferrex and Porrex* and *Jocasta* are apparently seeking to give the impression of the Senecan senarius. In *The Steel Glass* Gascoigne appears to be aiming at the ostentatiously pedestrian elegance of Horace's *Sermones*. In *The Arraignment of Paris*, it should be noted, Peele uses blank verse only in a few passages where he is studiously emulating the cool dignity of Latin declamation; i. e., in Ate's Prologue, Paris's Oration to the Council of the Gods (iv. i), and the stately praise of the Nymph Eliza by Diana and Pallas (v. i.)

So far blank verse had been a metre employed with increasing skill, but employed only when Englishmen were affecting to write like Romans. The first lines of *Tamburlaine* gave it at once the freedom of English life and feeling:

From jiggling veins of riming mother wits
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threatening the world with high astounding terms. . . .

For seven years one of the most vigorous and original British poets made it the characteristic, almost the sole, mouthpiece of his personality, and it became in its implications and appeal an utterly different thing.

No sympathetic reader can be untouched by these new qualities in the verse of *Tamburlaine*. First of all, the absence of anything tentative or experimental in the choice of metre challenges attention. The young poet confidently stakes his career upon the adequacy of his medium to every poetic occasion. And back of this in all the ringing lines is the unmistakable sound of a personal voice, as clear as that of his great successors, Shakespeare and Milton.

These points are axiomatic. No critic, I think, has failed to recognize them, and no discussion can do much more than stress

⁶ Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (vol. 209) book iii, ll. 1250-1319.

⁷ Theodore Beza, *Poemata*, Sylva Secunda.

their obviousness. But there are in the metrical art of *Tamburlaine* and the succeeding plays many features which repay technical analysis.

Marlowe was enamoured of the regular iambic decasyllable: to him it seems to have appeared neither monotonous nor restricted in its effects. In his early work particularly he was, as Jonson noted, an artist of the single line, and *Tamburlaine* makes its strongest appeal to readers through these mighty lines, marked usually by no metrical irregularities or equivalences, yet brilliant in the accuracy with which each gives voice to a perfectly distinct emotion:

‘And ride in triumph through Persepolis!’
 ‘Still climbing after knowledge infinite.’
 ‘I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains.’
 ‘And Tamburlaine is Lord of Africa.’
 ‘Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!’

In *Tamburlaine* the heady music of the five marching iambs normally drowns the tendency to variation. Unlike Shakespeare, Marlowe here uses the feminine ending—the line of eleven-syllables—in only about two percent of the cases. Unlike Milton, he is reluctant to break up the independence of his verses by strong caesural pauses. Habitually the lines are end-stopped. The ornament of rime is added in only five per cent of them, and in many of these instances is probably involuntary.

Stylistic devices are not numerous or conspicuous. Professor Hubbard notes the rather frequent employment of a type of line in which a kind of strophic and antistrophic effect is bound up with three-fold balance of parts, as in

The fainting army of that foolish king (660)*

Ellis illustrates the use of a ‘blank verse couplet.’⁹ Sometimes, again, we have a quatrain effect, as in lines 553-556:

* Frank G. Hubbard, “A Type of Blank Verse Line found in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama,” *Publ. M. L. A.*, 1917, **XXXII**, 68-80.

“The strong melody of his early verse is simple and little varied; the chief variation being a kind of blank verse couplet, generally introduced near the end of a speech, in which a tumultuous crescendo is followed by a grave and severely iambic line:—

And sooner shall the Sun fall from his Spheare,
 Than *Tamburlaine* be slaine or ouercome.’ (371 f.)

(Mermaid ed., p. **xxxii** f.)

He that can take or slaughter *Tamburlaine*,
 Shall rule the Prouince of *Albania*.
 Who brings that Traitors head *Theridamas*,
 Shal haue a gouernment in *Medea*.¹⁰

Marlowe's most striking achievement in style, however, apart from the single line, is in *Tamburlaine* the verse paragraph, which is often of a lyric rather than dramatic nature. Here, as in true lyrical poetry, the perfect single line is not absorbed in the sense of the speech as a whole, but forms the theme of a burst of sustained emotion, which plays about it and often repeats it as a refrain. *Tamburlaine* is full of such inwrought lyrics, of which the most famous is the great speech on Beauty (1941-1971), and the most musically remarkable Zenocrate's lament over Bajazeth and Zabina (2129-2153) and *Tamburlaine's* lament over Zenocrate (2983-3005).¹¹

With such simple metrical tools Marlowe works. Few English poets, if any, surpass him in the sheer wonder of the different effects he makes them accomplish. Lowell's remains the best description of the surprise which readers of *Tamburlaine* feel continually:

In the midst of the hurly-burly there will fall a sudden hush, and we come upon passages calm and pellucid as mountain tarns filled to the brim with the purest distillations of heaven. And, again, there are single verses that open silently as roses, and surprise us with that seemingly accidental perfection, which there is no use in talking about because itself says all that is to be said and more.¹²

The special metrical triumph of *Tamburlaine* consisted, then, in its demonstration of the unsuspected power and range possible to the simple iambic decasyllabic line. The failure of the poet to make more than very slight use of the devices upon which his successors mainly depend for variety—rime, the feminine ending, the run-on line, and variation of caesural pause—has, however, apparently led readers to overlook the presence of certain other differentiating agencies by which monotony is avoided or special effects gained. These are particularly the alexandrine, the nine-syllable line, and the tetrameter.

¹⁰ Cf. also lines 405-408, 438-441; *Edward II*, 1063-1066.

¹¹ Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, II, v. 27-43.

¹² *The Old English Dramatists*, 1892, p. 36.

It was perhaps the influence of Spenser, especially strong in *Tamburlaine*, which encouraged the sporadic introduction of alexandrines. One of them, indeed, (4103) is taken direct from the *Fairy Queen*. I count in all some thirty pretty definite examples; *e. g.*,

And must maintaine my life exempt from seruitude (227)
 How now my Lords of *Egypt & Zenocrate*? (309)
 And sit with *Tamburlaine* in all his maiestie (404)
 I must be please perforce, wretched *Zenocrate* (454)
 As if as many kinges as could encompass thee (709)
Ortigijs and *Menaphon*, my trustie friendes (734)
 Long / liue *Tamburlaine*, and raigne in *Asia* (915)
 Be honored with your loue, but for necessity (1015)
 Now strengthen him against the Turkish *Baiazeth* (1289)
 Nay take the Turkish Crown from her, *Zenocrate* (1318)
 Not for the world *Zenocrate*, if I haue sworn (1569)
 To entertaine some care of our securities (1810)
 Ah faire *Zenocrate*, diuine *Zenocrate* (1916)
 For faire *Zenocrate*, that so laments his state (1986)
 The braines of *Baiazeth*, my Lord and Soueraigne (2088)
 What saith the noble Souldane and *Zenocrate*? (2277)
 And thou shalt see a man greater than *Mahomet* (3457)
 And vnde such slender reckning of your maiesty (4195)
 Take them away *Theridamas*, see them dispatcht (4246)
 But stay, I feele my selfe distempered sudainly (4329)¹³

The great majority of these lines occur at the opening or close of speeches.¹⁴ Elsewhere they justify themselves by conveying a tone of earnest entreaty, as in 734, 1015, 1289; or by underlining the dignity of some idea, as in 227, 1810, 2088, 3457. 709 is the first line of a blank verse couplet, closing a speech of particularly formal gravity. In 915 we have the monosyllabic first foot characteristic of the nine-syllable line.

This nine-syllable line, in which the first foot consists of a single strong syllable, is employed occasionally by Marlowe, as by

¹³ I do not attempt to estimate the precise total of Alexandrine lines, because there are many where it must be a matter of doubt whether six full feet are to be measured, or whether the line is by elision to be reduced to eleven or even ten syllables. This is especially true where long proper names are concerned, as in 54, 128. Compare also 1329.

¹⁴ Lines 309, 1318, 1569, 1916 begin speeches. 404, 1986, 2277, 4195, 4329 end speeches. 454, 915, 4246 are entire speeches, 454 being also the concluding line of an act.

Bring out / my foot-/stoole (1445)
 Chide her / *Anip/pe* (1515)
 Put / him in / againe (1526)
 Come / bring in / the Turke (1570)

Compare Almeda's impatient query

Wel / sir, what / of this? (2509)

and the two dimeters of Techelles:

What now? In loue (302)
 Come let vs martch. (332)

In three of the instances above, the impatience indicated by the short line is further marked by the employment of the monosyllabic first foot.

More characteristic of *Tamburlaine* is the line of four feet; *e. g.*,

You may doe well to kisse it then (106)
 Where *is* this Scythian *Tamberlaine*? (348)
 That dare to manage armes with him (1296)
 My Lord, how can you suffer these (1664)
 Thats wel *Techelles*, what's the newes? (1979)
 Tis braue indeed my boy, wel done (4261)

The ill-advised surgery of modern editors, who have almost uniformly offered to pad out such lines, is confuted by the clear purposefulness of the shortened measure. In the examples quoted the tetrameter gives point successively to Cosroe's studied contempt for Mycetes, to Theridamas's impatience concerning the paltry Scythian he has been sent to capture, to Zabina's outraged horror at the idea that the latter should venture combat with the Great Turk, to Zenocrate's imperial displeasure at her lover's long-suffering, and to Tamburlaine's exulting joy in the report of Techelles and the precocious conduct of his son. The omission of one foot has the effect of stressing one of the rest like italics or a point of exclamation:—'to *kisse* it then'; '*Where*'; '*that dare*'; 'My Lord, how *can* you'; 'Thats *wel* Techelles'; 'Tis braue indeed my boy, *wel done*.' ¹⁷

¹⁷ Compare *Faustus* 1288: Sayes, Faustus come, thine houre is come. Shakespeare's early plays show a similarly intelligent use of the short line, possibly caught from Marlowe. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii, 10 f.

'It is my lady; O! it is my love:
O! that she knew she were.'

So III, iv, 129, 220; IV, iii, 18, 20; IV, v, 54.

1 *Henry VI*, II, iii, 60: 'That will I show you presently.'

Irregularities of scansion are few in Marlowe. Among those which should be noted are the use of a trochee in place of the iamb in the first foot:

Soft ye / my Lords and sweet *Zenocrate* (315);

and the habit of employing a foot of two unaccented syllables (pyrrhic) in the last place:

Before we part with our possēs/sion (340)
And made a vōyage into *Eū/(o)rope* (2777)
And nōw themselūes shal make our *Pā/geant* (4069)

This last is perhaps Marlowe's most striking mannerism in scansion. It arises from what Professor Root has already marked as one of the poet's conspicuous traits: 'the very frequent use of a trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic word, often a proper name, at the end of the line.'¹⁸

Occasionally after a pause or in connection with a particularly emphatic word, one syllable is omitted; *e. g.*,

O Gods, / is this / (x) *Tam/burlaine* / the thiefe? (704)
Iniu/rious vil/laines, thieues, / (x) run/nagates (1323)¹⁹

Again, in accordance with common Elizabethan practice, an important word may be emphasized by doubling a vowel sound or by giving syllabic value to a liquid or nasal consonant; *e. g.*,

Create / him Pro/(o)rex / of *Af/frica* (97)
As mon/st(e)rous / as *Gor/gon*, prince / of Hell (1389)
How far / hence lies / the *Gal/ley*, say/(-y) you? (2545)

Another irregularity, which appears to have had general Elizabethan authority, though it has caused agitation to editors, is the occasional introduction of extra-metrical words. It would seem that an otherwise complete blank verse line might be extended by the addition of a vocative or other phrase of direct address,

¹⁸ *Englische Studien*, XLIII, 122.

¹⁹ Compare *Dido*, You are / *Acha/tes*, (x) / or I / deciu'd (344)
Iar/bus. (x) /

Doth *Di/do* call / me backe? (686, 687)

How pret/ilie / he laughs,/(x) goe / ye wagge (1390)

Edward II, Heere, heere: / (x) now / sweete God / of heauen (2093)

And none / but we / shall know / (x) where / he lieth (2184)

or occasionally by an exclamatory adverb, without being regarded as incorrect. Observe the italicized words in the following lines:

Tamburlaine? A Scythian Shepheard, so imbellished (350)
 And him faire Lady shall thy eies behold. *Come* (3478 f.)
 Why *Madam*, thinke ye to mocke me thus palpably? (3948)
Come shewe me some demonstrations magicall (*DF* 179)
 Nothing *Faustus*, but to delight thy minde withall (*DF* 516)
No, no. Then wil I headlong runne into the earth (*DF* 1440, 1441)
Oh earth-metall'd villaines, and no Hebrews born! (*JM* 311)
I, but theft is worse: tush, take not from me then (*JM* 358)
No, for this example I'll remaine a Iew (*JM* 1705)
No, but wash your face, and shaue away your beard (*Edw.* 2296)
No, vnlesse thou bring me newes of Edwards death (*Edw.* 2377)

It would be easy to condemn such lines as corrupt, or print the additional syllables in a separate verse; but there is abundant evidence that the irregularity was usually an intentional variation of the single line. Compare the following examples from one scene of Shakespeare (*1 Henry IV*, i, iii):

O, sir, your presence is too bold and peremptory (17)
I tell thee, He durst as well have met the devil alone (115 f.)
Nay, I'll have a starling shall be taught to speak (223 f.)
'Sblood! When you and he came back from Ravenspurgh.²⁰

An ornate richness of style marks *Tamburlaine*. Assonance is very common, and in the early part of the play almost suggests that the poet has difficulty in preventing himself from falling into regular rime; *e. g.*,

witnesses . . . for this (30 f.); outrages . . . prophecies (48 f.);
 home . . . Dame (73 f.); Diadem . . . Gentlemen (147 f.);
 liue . . . loue (178 f.); followers . . . Emperours (262 f.);
 one . . . possession (339 f.).

Alliteration, often extending to several lines, abounds; *e. g.*,

the man of fame,
 The man that in the forehead of his fortune,
 Beares figures of renowne and myracle (456-458)

To see his choller shut in secrete thoughtes,
 And wrapt in silence of his angry soule (1055 f.)

²⁰ So, also *Richard II*, ii, ii, 108,
Gentlemen, will you go muster men? If I know
 and same scene, l. 117,
 I'll dispose of you. *Gentlemen*. go muster up your men.

That shortly he was grac't with Doctors name (ib. 16 f.)
 Whose terminine is tearnd the worlds wide pole (ib. 653)
 And rent their hearts with tearing of my haire (JM 468)
 The hopelesse daughter of a haplesse Iew (ib. 557)
 For whilst I liue, here liues my soules sole hope (ib. 668)
 Vomit your venome, and inuenome her (ib. 1407)
 To pinch me with intolerable pangs (ib. 2372)
 Preach vpon poles for trespasse of their tongues (Edw. 118)
 A brother, no, a butcher of thy friends (ib. 1595)
 Forgiue my thought, for hauing such a thought (ib. 2531)
 he barely beares the name (MP 131)
 And end thy endles treasons with thy death (ib. 962)
 Vaild to the ground, vailing her eie-lids close (HL 159)

These instances indicate, however, that the poet's delight in the purely verbal quibble or jingle decreased as he grew older. It gave place to the ironic pun, which is particularly characteristic of *Edward II*. For examples see *Tamburlaine* 2507, 3638, 4226; *Jew of Malta* 817 f., 1834; *Edward II* 268 f., 314, 463, 653 f., 1532, 1584 f.

Expressing himself as he normally did in terms of the individual line, it is not surprising that in *Tamburlaine* Marlowe repeats particularly useful or eloquent verses with a frequency quite Homeric. In the two parts of the play there are at least seven verses²³ which appear without change from twice to five times each, and there are a half-dozen other cases²⁴ where a line is repeated with equally conscious purpose, but with some slight variation due to rhetorical or grammatical necessity. It is noteworthy that nearly three-quarters of these repetitions occur in the second part of *Tamburlaine*. They perhaps mark the relative haste and poverty of thought in that work.

More significant of Marlowe's confirmed mental character and metrical habit are the very numerous cases of presumably unconscious repetition, where vivid ideas automatically reappear at considerable intervals with slight differences of wording. Of such parallels between different passages in *Tamburlaine* there are at least a score which strike the attention,²⁵ and there are a great

²³ Cf. 754, 2136, 2347, 2660, 2985, 3541, 4543. I do not include repetition which has no stylistic purpose, as in 100 f.

²⁴ Cf. 571, 2397, 2629, 2696, 2703, 4407 f.

²⁵ Cf. lines 81 and 4374; 25 and 130; 82 f. and 423; 475 f. and 2646 f.; 813 ff., 2293, and 3802; 867 and 4428; 977, 982, and 3377-3379; 1131 and

many also which link the play with the other works of the poet. The number and quality of these parallels between the different works of Marlowe offer evidence, indeed, for determining the order in which they were composed.

In the previous discussion reference has been made chiefly to the blank verse of *Tamburlaine*, and enough has probably been said to show that the handling of metre in that work evidences not only Marlowe's proverbial sense of melody, but also a decided understanding of varied effects. Yet *Tamburlaine* represents Marlowe's matured practice no more in versification than it does in dramatic structure. It is very fortunate that the only other play preserved in a form equally free from suspicion in regard to textual purity and genuineness of authorship exemplifies the close as *Tamburlaine* exemplifies the opening of the poet's career. A study of the verse of *Edward II* proves a very distinct and consistent development in the direction of greater dramatic freedom; and this development is borne out by examination of the other plays, though none of these is textually unexceptionable enough to be safely made the subject of extended metrical analysis.²⁶

The general change in the tone of the verse which readers feel in passing from *Tamburlaine* to the later plays is well stated by Professor Dowden:

'In one particular a most important advance from *Tamburlaine* to *Doctor Faustus* and the later plays is discernible in versification. . . . It was in the tirades of *Tamburlaine* that blank verse was first heard upon a public stage in England. But in this play the blank verse is like a gorgeous robe of brocade, stiff with golden embroidery; afterwards in his hands it becomes pliable and falls around the thought or feeling which it covers in nobly significant lines.'²⁷

2875; 1190, 2356, and 3415; 1207, 2638, and 4033; 1493 and 4624; 1655 and 3202; 1477, 3488, and 4394 f.; 1921 and 2943; 1930 f. and 2570 f.; 1948 and 2258; 2078 f. and 3986 f.; 2602 and 2622.

²⁶ *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta* survive in editions considerably subsequent to Marlowe's death, and both have been affected by alien revision. The only edition of *The Massacre at Paris* is peculiarly badly printed. The text of *Dido* is earlier and apparently purer, but it is of dubious homogeneity.

²⁷ *Fortnightly Review*, XIII, 81.

This growing plasticity in the verse is marked by a number of distinct metrical changes. The first is the increasing tendency to subordinate the individual verse to the speech. The gorgeous separate line which rises free from its context and fixes itself independently in the memory is rarer in *Doctor Faustus* than in *Tamburlaine*, though still present; *e. g.*,

Tis Magicke, Magicke that hath rauisht mee (138)
 Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes? (1328)
 Ile burne my bookes, ah *Mephastophilis*! (1477)

Readers of *Faustus* are rather more likely to remember passages in which the single lines subordinate themselves to the expression of a bold philosophy. Such in a way are indeed *Tamburlaine*'s apostrophe on beauty and *Faustus*'s speech to Helen, but the ascendancy of the speech over the line becomes more notable in passages like the following:

Why this is hel, nor am I out of it:
 Thinkst thou that I who saw the face of God,
 And tasted the eternal ioyes of heauen,
 Am not tormented with ten thousand hels,
 In being depriv'd of euerlasting blisse? (312-316)

or

Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscrib'd
 In one selfe place, for where we are is hell,
 And where hell is, must we euer be:
 And to conclude, when all the world dissolues,
 And euery creature shalbe purified,
 All places shall be hell that is not heauen. (553-558)

In this respect as in others, however, *Doctor Faustus* and *Tamburlaine* form a group together as contrasted with *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*. In the latter the individual line is distinctly less notable, the speeches pithier and more homogeneous. Such lines in them as do particularly emphasize themselves are usually lines of reflective rather than emotional appeal, like *Barabas*'s

Infinite riches in a little roome (*JM* 72)

or *Edward*'s

My heart is as an anuill vnto sorrow (*Edw.* 609)

and

But what are kings, when regiment is gone,
But perfect shadowes in a sun-shine day? (*ib.* 2012, 2013)

In technical matters also less emphasis is placed upon the separate line in the later plays. The tendency to break up the normal flow of the verse by a strong caesural pause increases regularly. I count nine instances of such pause in the first three hundred lines of *Dido*,²⁸ fourteen in the first three hundred, and twenty-nine in the last three hundred lines of *Tamburlaine*, and fifty-six in the last three hundred lines of *Edward II*.²⁹

The regular decasyllable line of the early plays likewise gives place to a considerable number of eleven-syllable (feminine ending) verses in *Edward II*. Taking the same passages of three hundred lines each, I find no feminine endings in *Dido*, six in the opening of *Tamburlaine* and eight in the closing part, and seventeen in the closing part of *Edward II*. This intermingling of eleven-syllable lines, which greatly alters the effect of the verse, is carried much farther yet (as Bullen has noted) in the translation of Lucan. I count forty-nine instances in the first three hundred lines of that work, and twenty-eight in the corresponding portion of *Hero and Leander*.

Again, the later plays show greater freedom than the earlier in the use of short lines and hemistiches. Hemistiches practically do not occur in *Dido* or *Tamburlaine*:³⁰ each speech begins a separate line; and the short lines, though skilfully used, are rare. The nine hundred lines from these plays which I have used for illustration contain only one line of two feet,³¹ one of three and one of four.³²

²⁸ Lines 301-600 of *Dido*, which seem more characteristic of Marlowe's style, contain twenty-nine marked caesural pauses, two feminine endings, eleven riming and twenty-four run-on lines, and fifty-three trochaic first feet.

²⁹ The figures for *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, for the same number of lines, are intermediate: thirty-four and forty-eight respectively. The text of these two plays is so broken up, however, that a single passage of three hundred consecutive characteristic lines can hardly be found. I have therefore based my calculations in each case upon an aggregate of three hundred lines taken from three parts of the play; viz., DF 29-159, 1255-1356, 1419-1485; JM 36-177, 640-705, 2320-2410.

³⁰ For two of the very rare exceptions cf. *Tamb.*, 1391 f., 3841 f.

³¹ *Dido*, 273.

³² *Tamb.* 32 and 106.

In the typical three hundred lines of *Doctor Faustus* there are five lines of one to three feet; and in the similar passages from *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II* fourteen and fifteen lines, respectively, of one to four feet. In the same passages of the last two plays I find also eleven and four pairs, respectively, of hemistiches.³³ The number of trochaic first feet increases also from about forty in each three hundred lines of *Dido* and *Tamburlaine* to over sixty in *Edward II*.³⁴

It is only in the run-on line that no development of freedom can be traced in the later plays. Except in the translation of Lucan, where seventy cases occur in the first three hundred lines, Marlowe seems never to have made any very large or conscious use of the unstopped verse. The last three hundred lines of *Edward II* comprise only eighteen verses which can be regarded as run-on, as contrasted with thirty-nine in the corresponding part of *Tamburlaine*. According to my count, the figures for each of the three hundred line passages I have specially examined are:

1 <i>Tamb.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	41 run-on lines
2 <i>Tamb.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	39 " " "
<i>Dido</i>	.	.	.	.	.	20 " " "
<i>DF</i>	.	.	.	.	.	44 " " "
<i>JM</i>	.	.	.	.	.	52 " " "
<i>Edw.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	18 " " "
<i>MP</i>	.	.	.	.	.	32 " " "
<i>Lucan</i>	.	.	.	.	.	70 " " "
<i>HL</i>	.	.	.	.	.	37 " " "

The disparity in the case of *Edward II* is partly due to the fact that the passage analyzed contains a great many one-line speeches, necessarily end-stopped. However a comparison of hundred-line extracts from each of the more important plays, each consisting of long speeches, indicates that no essential change took place in Marlowe's practice:—

1 <i>Tamb.</i> (202-301)	14 run-on lines
2 <i>Tamb.</i> (4506-4605)	16 " " "
<i>DF</i> (1322-1356, 1420-1485)	11 " " "
<i>JM</i> (36-101, 141-177)	19 " " "
<i>Edw.</i> (1991-2075, 2082-2097)	12 " " "

³³ There are about 40 hemistiches in entire play of *Edward II*.

³⁴ I count forty trochaic first feet in the passage from *Dido*, fifty and thirty-eight, respectively, in the passages from *Tamburlaine*, and sixty-two in that from *Edward II*.

As the plays of the later period make increased use of metrical devices which lead to variety and freedom, they gradually abandon the ornate rhetorical features of the style of *Tamburlaine*. Rime occurs less frequently as a conscious ornament.²⁵

The light pyrrhic ending, which gives a tripping flow to so many

²⁵ Fleay remarks in his edition of *Edward II* that 'Marlowe's use of rime scarcely varied.' It is true that the gross total of riming lines in the different plays does not undergo any sensational alteration except in *Doctor Faustus*. I count the number as follows:—

1 <i>Tamb.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	109 riming lines
2 <i>Tamb.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	112 " "
<i>Dido</i>	.	.	.	.	.	105 " "
<i>DF</i>	.	.	.	.	.	18 " "
<i>JM</i>	.	.	.	.	.	96 " "
<i>Edw.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	100 " "
<i>MP</i>	.	.	.	.	.	25 " "

Dividing these figures by the total number of metrical lines in the various plays, we get the following approximate percentages of riming lines:—*Tamburlaine* (both parts), 4.9%; *Dido*, 6%; *Doctor Faustus*, 2.4%; *Jew of Malta*, 4.3%; *Edward II*, 3.8%; *Massacre at Paris*, 3.9%. These results, however, do not indicate the real extent of the change, for a large number of the rimes counted are evidently unintentional and without stylistic effect. A fairer criterion is the employment of rime to point the close of a speech or scene in blank verse. There are 21 instances of this in the first part and 22 in the second part of *Tamburlaine*, 16 in *Dido*, one in *Doctor Faustus* (the concluding couplet of the play), 13 in *The Jew of Malta*, five in *Edward II*, and four in *The Massacre at Paris*.

Fleay, who counts the number of rimes in each play (making no distinction between ordinary rimes and triplets), gives the following figures:—

1 <i>Tamb.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	52 rimes
2 <i>Tamb.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	56 "
<i>Dido</i>	.	.	.	.	.	47 "
<i>DF</i>	.	.	.	.	.	12 "
<i>JM</i>	.	.	.	.	.	49 "
<i>Edw.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	49 "
<i>MP</i>	.	.	.	.	.	13 "

It is evident that Julius Heuser (*Der Coupletreim in Shakespeare's Dramen, Sh.-Jb.*, XXVIII, 181) rather misrepresents the case when he refers to Marlowe, 'der bekanntlich seine dramatischen Erzeugnisse möglichst vom Reim frei hielt und ihn nur am Scenen- oder Aktschluss, und auch da sehr selten, verwendete.' Heuser confesses seven probably unintentional exceptions to his statement in *Edward II*.

of the verses of *Tamburlaine*, is likewise largely discarded. The first three hundred lines of *Tamburlaine* have eighty-seven instances, the last three hundred, sixty-nine instances while the last three hundred lines of *Edward II* have only thirty-one.³⁶ Alliteration, which is very striking in *Dido* and the first part of *Tamburlaine*, is only occasionally noticeable in *Doctor Faustus*, and virtually disappears in *Edward II*.³⁷

Along with the metre, Marlowe's general style grows plainer. Carpenter correctly points out the difference between *Tamburlaine* and the later works in the use of figurative language. He estimates that there are four hundred metaphors and similes in *Tamburlaine* as contrasted with a total of two hundred and fifty in four later plays. 'The most remarkable feature of the later plays,' he remarks, 'is the surprisingly small amount of figure employed.'³⁸ Vogt produces evidence to the same effect when he points out the greater boldness in the use of adjectives and the clearer reminiscences of Latin usage in *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*.³⁹

³⁶ Such verses arise from the habit of ending the line with a polysyllable accented on the antepenult. It might be supposed that the difference indicated above is due to a decrease in the use of long proper names in *Edward II*, but this is not the case. Of the 87 polysyllables cited from the opening of *Tamburlaine* only 36 are proper names (*e. g.*, *Tamburlaine*, *Scythia*), while of the 31 from the close of *Edward II* 14 are proper names (*e. g.*, *Mortimer*, *Isabel*). The difference is due to the constant use in *Tamburlaine* of long common nouns (*e. g.*, *emperors*, *passengers*, *eternized*, *exhalations*), whereas *Edward II* habitually closes its lines with monosyllables.

Dido is radically unlike *Tamburlaine* in this regard, having only 148 final polysyllables in all, or an average of about 8½%.

³⁷ Figures here depend largely upon personal impression. Counting lines in which there seems to be a marked alliterative effect between two or more strongly stressed syllables, I find at least 35 instances in the first 300 lines of *Dido*, 22 in the corresponding portion of *Tamburlaine*, and none at all in the last 300 lines of *Edward II*.

³⁸ F. I. Carpenter, *Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama*, p. 47. There seems also to be a tendency in the later plays to replace simile by metaphor. The first part of *Tamburlaine* has about eight times as many similes as metaphors, the *Massacre at Paris* about six times as many metaphors as similes.

³⁹ R. G. Vogt, *Das Adjektiv bei Christopher Marlowe*, pp. 55-59. Cf. also F. Stroheker's good dissertation, *Doppelformen und Rhythmus bei Marlowe und Kyd* (1913).

The great progress in style and versification which the seven years of Marlowe's active life brought about can be proved by statistics of many kinds. But the clearest demonstration of his development is to place side by side a dozen lines of *Tamburlaine* and an equal number from *Edward II*. I select two passages of similar feeling, in each of which the hero bewails his most irreparable loss. These are the words of *Tamburlaine* at *Zenocrate's* death-bed (3046-3063):—

Proud furie and intollorable fit,
That dares torment the body of my Loue,
And scourge the Scourge of the immortall God:
Now are those Spheares where *Cupid* vsde to sit,
Wounding the world with woonder and with loue,
Sadly supplied with pale and ghastly death:
Whose darts do pierce the Center of my soule.
Her sacred beauty hath enchaunted heauen,
And had she liu'd before the siege of *Troy*,
Hellen, whose beauty sommond Greece to armes,
And drew a thousand ships to *Tenedos*,
Had not bene nam'd in *Homers* Iliads:
Her name had bene in euery line he wrote:
Or had those wanton Poets, for whose byrth
Olde *Rome* was proud, but gasde a while on her,
Nor *Lesbia*, nor *Corrinna* had bene nam'd,
Zenocrate had bene the argument
Of euery Epigram or Eligie.

Compare *Edward's* last lamentation (2507-2518):—

And there in mire and puddle haue I stood,
This ten dayes space, and least that I should sleepe,
One plaies continually vpon a Drum,
They giue me bread and water being a king,
So that for want of sleepe and sustenance,
My mindes distempered, and my bodies numde,
And whether I haue limmes or no, I know not.
O would my bloud dropt out from euery vaine,
As doth this water from my tattered robes:
Tell *Isabell* the Queene, I lookt not thus,
When for her sake I ran at tilt in Fraunce,
And there vnhorste the duke of *Cleremont*.

The change is almost comparable with that which Milton's style underwent between *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*. One notes inevitably the increase in dramatic appropriateness and power, the

new sense of the effect of plain details and modest statement, the dropping away of all rhetorical devices: alliteration, sonorous line endings, figure, and allusion. The whole of the later speech contains only five words of over two syllables, all quite unostentatious: continually, sustenance, distempered, Isabell, Cleremont.⁴⁰ Each passage, however, bears clearly the sign manual of Marlowe; and each rises, as the speeches of Marlowe so often do, to a crescendo of lyrical emotion unsurpassably melodious.

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⁴⁰ The last twelve lines of the *Tamburlaine* passage contain eighty-nine words; the twelve lines from *Edward II* one hundred and one.

WILY BEGUILLED¹

BY BALDWIN MAXWELL

Although *Wily Beguiled* has long been acknowledged one of the sprightliest and merriest of the anonymous Elizabethan comedies, there seems never to have been a serious study of its date or of its authorship. The play merits more attention not only because of its excellence but also because of (1) its possible connection with the *Wylie Beguylie* performed at Merton College, Oxford, in 1566/7, (2) its suggested relation to the group of Parnassus plays performed at Cambridge around 1600, (3) its imitations and reflections of other plays of the period, and (4) the personal satire which Fleay recognized in it.

¹ Under 12 November, (1606), there appears in the Register of the Stationers' Company the following entry:

Entered for his Copie vnder thandes of master Hartwell and Clement
knighte bothe the wardens A booke called Wylie beguilde. &c . vj^d/
(Arber's Transcript, III, 333.)

In accordance with this entry an edition—presumably the first edition—appeared in this year with the title-page: A/ PLEASANT/ COMEDIE,/ Called/ WILY BEGVILDE./ *The Chiefe Actors be these:/ A poore Scholler, a rich Foole, and a/ Knaue at a shifte./* AT LQNDON./ Printed by H. L. for CLEMENT KNIGHT:/ and are to be solde at his Shop, in Paules/ Church-yard, at the signe of the Holy Lambe./ 1606./ Two further editions were printed for Clement Knight, one by W. W., (William White), at an unknown date, one by Thomas Purfoot in 1623. A fourth and a fifth edition were printed in 1630 and 1655; and a sixth edition was printed for Thomas Alchorn in 1638. Copies of the 1606 edition are preserved in the Bodleian Library, the Dyce Collection and the collection of the Duke of Devonshire; while the British Museum contains copies of all the other editions. "Of that printed by W. White only the one copy is now known. In this the date, which apparently was given, has been torn away. White is not known as a printer after about 1617, and internal evidence also shows his edition to be earlier than Purfoot's, that is than 1623. Doubt might even exist as to the priority of the edition of 1606 were it not that the device upon the undated title-page is known to be pretty certainly not earlier than 1611." (Greg, *Malone Society Reprint*, v-vi.) The play has been reprinted in Hawkins, *Origins*, III, in Hazlitt, *Dodsley's Old English Plays*, IX, in the *Malone Society Reprints*, 1912, and in the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, 1912.

I

Modern critics have generally agreed that the play is several years older than the earliest known edition, that of 1606. Malone was the first, I think, to suggest the date 1596, which the majority of modern writers have continued to accept. He thought that *Wily Beguiled* must have been written in that year, for there then appeared the following passage in Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*:

But this was our *Gabriel Hagiels* tricke of *Wily Beguily* herein, that whereas he could get no man of worth to cry *Placet* to his workes, or meeter it in his commendation, those worthless Whippets and Jack Straws hee could get he would seeme to enoble and compare with the highest.³

The only way in which this passage suggests the play is in the mention of the "tricke of *Wily Beguily*." But as Hales pointed out, the expression *Wily Beguily* was known before 1590. Hales quoted a passage from Dr. John Harvey's *Discoursiue Problem Concerning Propheties*, 1588, in which the expression is found. But it must have been common before that. It appears, of course, as the title of the Oxford play of 1566/7; Florio used it in his translation of Montaigne's essay on "The Art of Conferring";⁴ and it is to be found in Latimer's letters.⁵

The majority of critics have continued to accept 1596 as the probable date, though the evidence which has been introduced has been only of such nature as to fix 1596 as the earliest possible date. Fleay observes: "That the original date of this play is 1596/7 I have no doubt. It contains passages distinctly parodying *Romeo and Juliet* . . . and *The Merchant of Venice* . . . , but no allusion to any later play of Shakespeare."⁶ Ward says: "*Wily Beguiled*, although not printed till 1606, was clearly written at a considerably earlier date. It must have been composed after the production of both *The Merchant of Venice*, a famous passage in which it adopts and parodies, and *Romeo and Juliet*." Ward also accepts the suggestion in the foot-notes of Hazlitt's *Dodsley* that

³ Quoted by Hales, "Wily Beguiled and The Merchant of Venice," *Essays and Notes on Shakespeare*, pp. 212-213.

⁴ Book III, Chap. viii.

⁵ Letter of May 15, 1555. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, vi, 307.

⁶ *Biog. Chron.*, II, 159.

the mention of Churms' having been "a souldier at Cales" refers to the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Cadiz in 1596.⁶ Though we admit the truth of these observations, we can say only that *Wily Beguiled* was not written before 1596.

Professor J. W. Hales and Dr. Brinsley Nicholson place the play "in or after 1601," but, so far as I know, their reasons have never been printed. After discussing the parodies of Shakspeare and Malone's dating of the play, Professor Hales closes with: "What is the real date there is no space now to discuss. I will only say that Dr. Brinsley Nicholson has kindly placed at my free disposal certain notes of his on the subject, in which he concludes, on the whole, that the play was written 'in or after 1601.'"⁷ That the correct date of the play in the form in which we have it is late 1601 or early 1602 I shall attempt to show by connecting certain references in *Wily Beguiled* with the quarrel then at its height between Ben Jonson and his fellow dramatists.

In *Satiromastix* Tucça upbraids Horace for having brought him upon the stage as a juggler:

He teach thee to turne me into Bankes his horse, and to tell gentlemen I am a juggler, and can shew tricks.⁸

The latest editor of this play in a note on this passage apparently accepts Fleay's interpretation, quoting approvingly from Fleay to the effect that "In the Prologue [to *Wily Beguiled*] a juggler enters and offers to show tricks. [Now in the second scene of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Captain Tucça says to Horace, i. e., Jonson, 'I'll teach thee . . . to tell gentlemen I am a juggler, and can show tricks.' I have searched in vain for any passage either in Jonson's works, or in any play in which he could possibly have had a hand, corresponding to this description, except this Prologue, which must therefore, I think, be assigned to Jonson. . . ."]"⁹

Neither Fleay nor Penniman seems to have noticed the similarity between another passage in *Wily Beguiled* and a speech of Tucça almost immediately following the above speech. When Blunt tells

⁶ *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 612.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁸ Act I, scene 2, 368-370.

⁹ Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, II, 159; quoted by Penniman in his edition of *Poetaster and Satiromastix*, *Belles Lettres Series*, 408.

Tucca that he must shake hands with Horace, Tucca interrupts him with:

Not hands with great Hunkes there, not hands, but Ile shake the gull-groper out of his tan'd skinne.²⁰

As Jonson is here clearly called *Hunkes* and as there is abundant evidence of his slowness and painstaking in composition, there can be no doubt that it is to Jonson that Will Cricket in *Wily Beguiled* refers when he says:

For (do you marke) I am none of these sneaking fellowes that wil stand thrumming of Caps, and studying vppon a matter, as long as *Hunkes* with the great head has beene about to show his little wit in the second part of his paultrie poetrie.²¹

The "second part of his paultrie poetrie" is, I think, *Poetaster*, *Cynthia's Revels* being understood as the first. The "second part" as here used does not, of course, mean the second piece of composition; nor does it mean the second of his pieces connected with the stage quarrel. *Second* is here used in the sense of a continuation or of something promised. That *Poetaster* was considered a continuation of the attacks of *Cynthia's Revels*, that it was long promised and awaited, is evident from the speech of Envy, prefacing its Prologue:

What's here? THE ARRAIGNMENT! ay; this, this is it,
That our sunk eyes have waked for all this while:

. these fifteen weeks,
So long as since the plot was but an embrion,
Have I, with burning lights mixt vigilant thoughts,
In expectation of this hated play.²²

If Jonson had a hand in the Induction to *Wily Beguiled* as Fleay supposed, either this Induction was written for an entirely different play and later used by one of his enemies, or Jonson wrote an induction to a play in which he himself was satirized.

²⁰ Act I, scene 2, ll. 387-389.

²¹ *Malone Society Reprint*, ll. 1613-1617. (The line references throughout are to this edition.) The suggestion is made in a footnote in Hazlitt's *Dodsley* that this passage alludes to some real circumstance and person (ix, 292). No identification, however, is hazarded.

²² Lines 3-4; 14-17.

It is much more plausible that Jonson had no hand whatever in *Wily Beguiled*.

Nor is it necessary, I think, to seek elsewhere than in Jonson's known works for an explanation of Tucca's resentment. It may, of course, be argued that as the passage in *Satiromastix* unites the references to Banks' horse and the juggler, the resentment was due to a passage in one of Jonson's plays in which both the juggler and the horse appear. As I have said, however, it is clear that *Poetaster* was considered a continuation of *Cynthia's Revels*, and the authors of *Satiromastix*, in replying to the two plays, would regard them as a unit. In none of his extant plays does Jonson turn anyone into "Bankes his horse"; but if the passage be taken figuratively, Penniman may be right in thinking that "the reference here is probably to *Poetaster*, III, 4, a scene in which Tucca causes the Pyrgi to perform as Banks caused his horse to show tricks."¹³ If Penniman be correct in his identification of the first part of the accusation, it is quite probable that the second part—that Tucca had been turned into a juggler and made to show tricks—is to be found in *Cynthia's Revels*. In the Induction to this play, Jonson, in satirizing those that give advice in the theatre, makes the Second Child say:

A third great-bellied juggler talks of twenty years since, and when Monsieur was here, and would enforce all wits to be of that fashion, because his doublet is still so.¹⁴

True, the juggler is not here literally brought upon the stage and made to do tricks, but it is evident from the other speeches of the Induction that the Children did mimic the censors as they spoke their lines, and from such mimicking it would have been easy for the spectators to have recognized in the person aped by the Second Child such a well-known character as Captain Hannam must have been.

However, the identification in Jonson's plays of the passages referred to by Tucca lies outside the present problem. Regardless of whether we accept the references I have suggested or of whether we prefer to believe that the references were to passages in a lost play by Jonson, we can, if I am correct in believing that the

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

¹⁴ *Works*, ed. Gifford, 1858, p. 168.

Hunkes passage in *Wily* refers to *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster*, assign the composition of *Wily Beguiled* in its present form to a fairly definite date. It must have been written at least several months after *Cynthia's Revels*:

" . . . as long as *Hunkes* with the great head has beene about to show his little wit in the second part of his paultrie poetrie."

The phrase *has beene about to show* is perhaps ambiguous. Possibly it means that *Poetaster*, though long promised, had not yet appeared. I think, however, the more likely interpretation is that *Poetaster* had appeared very shortly before. Either interpretation would result in practically the same date. *Cynthia's Revels* was performed in the fall of 1600, *Poetaster* in 1601. Under the first interpretation *Wily Beguiled* should be assigned to 1601; under the second to late 1601 or possibly to the first months of 1602. That the second interpretation is the more likely is indicated by the use which the author of *Wily* made of other plays. In passages which I have already quoted, Fleay and Ward call attention to borrowings in *Wily* from *The Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet* and argue from them that *Wily* must have been written shortly after the production of these two plays. Both of these plays, however, were probably still being acted in 1600, and there can be no argument that an author would be more apt to borrow from a play soon after its initial production than after it had shown its worth by several years of continued popularity. Professor Moore Smith, moreover, contributed to *The Shakspeare Allusion Book* the following parallel between *Wily* and *Hamlet*:

He make him fly swifter than meditation.

(*Wily*, Prologue, l. 37.)

. with wings as swift
As meditation, or the thoughts of love.

(*Hamlet*, I, v, 30.)

The editor notes that "there is difficulty in the date" and that "The *Wily Beguilde* passage may be coincidence" or "a borrowing from *Hamlet* in its earlier form."¹⁵ However, as the author of *Wily* clearly borrows from other plays of Shakspeare and as *Hamlet* was produced during late 1601 or the opening weeks of

¹⁵ Munro, *The Shakspeare Allusion Book*, i, 30.

1602—just the time at which the reference to Jonson would place *Wily Beguiled*—it seems more reasonable to admit the parody.

Likewise, *The Spanish Tragedy*, from which *Wily* borrows most frequently,¹⁶ was at this same time revived upon the London stage, as is witnessed by the entry in Henslowe's *Diary* under September 25, 1601, recording the payment of forty shillings to Jonson "vpon his writtinge of his adicians in geronymo."¹⁷

In dating the play, I have been careful to speak of it as "*Wily Beguiled* in the form in which we now have it." It is, of course, possible that there was a version prepared in 1596-7, and that the reference to Jonson and perhaps a borrowing from *Hamlet* were inserted in 1601-2. I see no reason, however, for supposing that there was a 1596-7 version. Though the play obviously shows signs of revision, the original version should, I believe, be placed far back of 1596.

II

The first attempt to assign *Wily Beguiled* to a definite author was made by Herr Bernardi in the *Hamburger Litteraturblatt* in 1856. Bernardi assigned it to Shakspeare. I have been unable to examine his article, but it obviously merits the contempt with which critics have ignored it. Both Dyce and Fleay ascribed the play to Peele, and most modern critics have inclined to their view. The basis for the ascription is the passage in the Induction where a juggler, coming in, addresses the Prologue as "humorous George." Ward says that if Peele was the "'humorous George' of the Prologue to the later version of this play, he may very

¹⁶ Professor Sarrazin in his *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 75 ff., pointed out a large number of these borrowings, but one can easily increase his list. It seems that in the majority of cases the author of *Wily* used the language of Kyd to heighten his own style, though at times—notably in the speeches of Robin in scene xvi—passages from *The Spanish Tragedy* are burlesqued.

¹⁷ Greg, I, 149. It should be noted, however, that among the many borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy* none of the additions by Jonson is referred to. From such omissions it may be argued that, as Jonson is elsewhere satirized in the play, the composition of *Wily* must antedate his revision of *The Spanish Tragedy*; but the more probable supposition, I think, is that *Wily* was in no sense a purposed attack upon Jonson, though the author introduced an occasional thrust or two in his direction.

probably have been author at least in part of it in its original form."¹⁸ Schelling and Baker agree that there is "nothing . . . to raise a question of Peele's authorship except the simple obviousness with which the plot is developed"¹⁹—"a trait in which Peele cannot be considered conspicuous."²⁰ Miss Martha Gause McCaulley and Mr. Penniman, however, go so far as to call the play "*Peele's Wily Beguiled*."²¹

But if I am correct in the dating of the play, *Wily* could not in its present form have been written before 1601, some two years after Peele's death. However, since Professor Ward has suggested two versions, and as I shall later argue that our version represents a revision, I should perhaps give my reasons for doubting Peele's authorship of even an earlier version. In the first place, the value of the "humorous George" passage as a basis for ascription has, I think, been greatly overestimated. The term *humorous* as here used does not seem to fit the jesting Peele, for here it clearly means melancholy, "in the dumps." Further, we have no evidence of Peele's ever acting as Prologue to his plays, and unless he did, there could be no significance to the juggler's addressing the Prologue as "humorous George." It is, I think, much more plausible that the George referred to was not the author but one of the popular actors of the day, perhaps George Brian. Or possibly the *George* may be no more definite than the frequent *Jack*, which also appears in the Induction.

Though the language of *Edward I*, and especially some of the figures, remind one of *Wily Beguiled*, to the other plays of Peele *Wily* bears little resemblance, except that all of Peele's work, like *Wily*, abounds in highly figurative language. But most, if not all, of the similar figures in *Wily* and *Edward I* were conventional figures of the age and may be paralleled in the plays of numerous other dramatists. In the nature of the comedy and in dramatic technique, moreover, there are several striking differences between

¹⁸ *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 375.

¹⁹ Baker, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v, 145.

²⁰ Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 320.

²¹ McCaulley, "Function and Content of the Prologue, Chorus, and Other Non-Organic Elements in the English Drama, from the Beginnings to 1642." *University of Pennsylvania Studies in English Drama*, First series, 1917, p. 198. Penniman, *Poetaster and Satiromastix* (*Belles-Lettres Series*), p. 408.

Wily and the plays of Peele. The comic scenes in *Wily*, totally unlike Peele's in their broad humor, are far too good to have come from the pen of George Peele. In none of his plays can be found such sprightly popular types as Will Cricket, Pegge Pudding, and Mother Midnight.

A still more striking contrast is presented in the differences in technique. Nowhere in Peele, for example, is any use made of dramatic irony. In *Wily Beguiled*, however, the author used dramatic irony at every opportunity. Churms, in planning with Lelia their elopement, declares:

If on th'adventure all the dangers lay,
That *Europe* or the westerne world affords,
Were it to combate *Cerberus* himselfe,
Or scale the brasen walles of *Plutoes* court;
When as there is so faire a prize propos'd,
If I shrinke backe or leaue it vnperform'd,
Let the World canonize me for a Coward:
.
Should *Sophos* meete vs there accompanied with some
Champion,
With whome twere any credit to encounter,
Were he as stout as *Hercules* himselfe,
Then would I buckle with them hand to hand:
And bandy blowes as thicke as hailestones fall,
And carrie *Lelia* away in spite of all their force.²²

Though the audience knows that a beating is in store for him at the hands of Fortunatus, who with *Sophos* is awaiting them by the forest side, Churms little suspects that he is to have any adventure or that the journey will prove other than the most quiet. So also, just before word is brought to him that Churms has eloped with Lelia, Gripe tells us of his happiness and of his confidence in Churms:

Euery one tels me I looke better then I was wont,
My hearts lightened, my spirits are reuiued,
Why me thinkes I am eene young againe;
It ioyes my heart that this same peeuish girle my daughter
will be rul'd at the last yet:
But I shall neuer be able to make M. *Churmes* amends for
the great paines he has taken.²³

²² Lines 1817-1823, 1836-1842.

²³ Lines 2244-2251.

Nowhere, I have said, does Peele use dramatic irony. The nearest approach to it is to be found in *The Arraignment of Paris*, where Paris swears that he will always remain true to Oenone. At the time of his oaths the situation that was to make him desert her had, of course, not developed, as he had not yet met the goddesses. If this be a case of dramatic irony at all, it is entirely different from the dramatic irony of *Wily*, where, for instance, we have learned from the action long before Gripes' speech that the "great paines" Churms has taken are toward an end just opposite to what Gripe supposes.

Another noteworthy difference in technique is to be seen in the opening. In the first scene of *Wily Beguiled* Gripe enters *solus*, and in a speech more than a page in length explains the situation at the opening, tells of his own wealth, of his son who "followes the wars," of the bringing up which he has bestowed upon his daughter, and of his plan to marry her to the heir of rich Ploddall. In none of the five plays usually ascribed to Peele is there any such expository opening. None even begins with a soliloquy, there being in every case three or more characters discovered in the opening scene.

There is, too, a striking difference in the development of the action. It may almost be said that it is the unvarying rule for a character in *Wily Beguiled* to inform the audience of his plan to perform an act before he performs it. Compare, for instance, the lines following lines 30, 74, 438, 1037, *et passim*. Nothing of this sort is to be found in the plays of Peele.

There is also considerable internal evidence of another kind that argues against Peele's authorship of *Wily Beguiled*. Little, however, can be got from a comparison of the meter and alliteration. The number of rhymed lines shows nothing; for though the percentage of rhymed lines in *Wily Beguiled* is more than twice as great as the added percentage of rhymed lines in the *Arraignment of Paris*, *David and Bethsabe*, and *Battle of Alcazar*, yet there are more rhymed lines in *Edward I*, corrupt though the text be, than in *Wily Beguiled*. Neither does an examination of feminine endings or run-on-lines argue against Peele's authorship. Though *Wily Beguiled* shows a larger percentage of feminine endings and a smaller percentage of run-on-lines than the *Arraignment of Paris*, *David and Bethsabe*, and *Battle of*

Alcazar, yet the differences between these plays and *The Old Wives Tale* are much greater than between them and *Wily Beguiled*.

The frequency of the alliteration in *Wily Beguiled* might at first glance suggest Peele's authorship. In the *Arraignement of Paris* there are 207 cases of alliteration; in *David and Bethsabe* 100; in *Edward I* 110; in *Wily Beguiled* 175. But in *Wily Beguiled* the alliteration seems to be of a slightly simpler kind. In Peele, on the average, about 50% of the cases consist of two words beginning with the same letter; under this head fall 74.29% of the cases in *Wily Beguiled*. The percentage of cases in which three words begin with the same letter is in Peele about 37.89, in *Wily* but 15.42.

Of more value, however, is the evidence furnished by the use of Latin phrases. The number of these phrases shows nothing. In *Edward I* Peele uses 20; in *The Old Wives Tale* 8; in *The Battle of Alcazar* 0; in *David and Bethsabe* 0; and in *The Arraignement of Paris* 1, omitting of course in the last play the Latin speeches with which the gifts were presented to Elizabeth. In *Wily* there are 12. But there is a striking difference in the way these phrases are used. Of the 29 cases in Peele, 5 are exclamations:

O Cupido, quantus, quantus! (*Edward I*, line 1313.)
 Facinus scelus, infandum nefas! (*Ibid.*, line 2757.)
 O caelum! O terra! O maria! O Neptune! (*O. W. T.*, line 16.)
 O falsum Latinum! (*Ibid.*, line 348.)
 Adeste, daemones! (*Ibid.*, line 505.)

Of the twelve Latin phrases in *Wily* none is an exclamation. Peele, too, made use of Latin salutations:

Pax vobis, Pax vobis.
 Et cum spiritu tuo. (*Edward I*, line 402.)
 Dominus vobiscum.
 Et cum spiritu tuo. (*Ibid.*, lines 2707-8.)
 Bona Nox. (*O. W. T.*, line 125.)

There is no Latin salutation in *Wily Beguiled*. On the other hand, of the 29 Latin phrases in Peele only one appears to be a popular saying or proverb;²⁴ whereas of the 12 bits of Latin in

²⁴ *Edward I*, line 1526.

Wily—of the 7 bits consisting of more than two words—4 are obviously popular sayings:

Idem est non apparere et non esse. (Line 1150.)

Virtus sine Censu languet. (Line 800.)

Qui dissimulare nescit, nescit vivere. (Line 542.)

*Si nihil attuleris &c.*²⁵ (Line 514.)

Again, a good proportion of Peele's Latin is to be traced to the Church service:

Secula seculorum (*Edward I*, line 490.)

Peccavi miserere David

In amo amavi (*Ibid.*, lines 1504-05.)

Per misericordiam (*Ibid.*, line 2392.)

Ora pro nobis (*Ibid.*, lines 2540.)

Dominus vobiscum

Et cum spiritu tuo (*Ibid.*, lines 2707-08.)

(Only one of the foregoing phrases, it should be noted, is put in the mouth of the priest.) None of the Latin in *Wily* seems to have been in any way suggested by the service. Similarly, at least three of Peele's Latin phrases are direct quotations from Horace,²⁶ from whom the author of *Wily* does not quote.

I have pointed out that between *Wily Beguiled* and the plays of Peele there are differences in the use of Latin phrases, in alliteration, and in the nature of the comic material; and a very striking contrast in dramatic technique. In view of the absence of any external evidence for assigning *Wily* to Peele, these differences are, I think, sufficient to warrant our denying him the authorship of even an earlier form of the play.

The fact that Jonson is satirized in *Wily Beguiled* immediately suggests the possibility of *Wily's* having been written or reworked by Marston. Albano in *What You Will* laments the same situation which *Wily* portrays:

²⁵ *Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.* This "olde sayd Saw" was used by Nash in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 318); and it appears in the *Return from Parnassus*, Part I, lines 1526-27.

²⁶ *Edward I*, line 202 is taken from *Ars Poet.*, 139.

Edward I, line 678 is taken from *Serm.*, I, 3, 6.

Edward I, lines 1923-4 are from *Epistles*, I, 2, 68-9.

²⁷ III, ii, 66-67.

. . . 'tis now the age of gold,—
For it all marreth, and even virtue's sold.²⁷

There are, too, a number of verbal similarities between *Wily* and the works of Marston, but on close examination these prove to be neither so striking nor so numerous as similarities between *Wily* and the works of other dramatists. The verse of *Wily* is most obviously not the verse of Marston; it is far more lyric and full of more elaborate conceits. There would be no justification for our assuming that the author of *Wily* intended burlesque in his elaborate "Furor Poeticus" language, or that he regarded his verse as in other than the best strain; but his verse is the very type that Marston, in the mouth of Slip, satirizes in *What You Will*:

. . . Shall I speak like a poet?—
thrice hath the horned moon—.²⁸

Moreover, if Marston were writing or revising *Wily Beguiled* in 1601 or 1602, he would, desiring to attack Jonson, hardly have contented himself with two or three thrusts,²⁹ or indeed with less than the most outspoken satire. That the satire, however, consists merely in odd thrusts, the author not having deliberately set out to satirize Jonson, is indicated by the fact that, though the *Spanish Tragedy* is burlesqued in a great number of cases, not one of the additions by Jonson is referred to.

²⁷ III, i, 72-73.

²⁸ I have called attention to the passage in which Jonson is spoken of as Hunks. It is possible that there is also a thrust at Jonson in the reference by the Prologue to *Spectrum*:

"*Spectrum* is a looking glasse indeede
Wherein a man a History may read,
Of base conceits and damned roguerie:
The very sinke of hell-bred villeny."

In the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour* Jonson says that he "would shew an image of the times," and in the Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* Asper declares:

"Well, I will scourge those apes,
And to these courteous eyes oppose a mirror,
As large as is the stage whereon we act;
Where they shall see the time's deformity
Anatomized in every nerve, and sinew,
With constant courage, and contempt of fear."

III

Mr. Boas dismisses *Wily Beguiled* with the observation that it "was probably a Cambridge play,"³⁰ and Mr. Greg hazards the suggestion that it was "a Cambridge piece of the circle of Parnassus."³¹ Beyond the fact that *Wily* seems to be a school play, I can find but two reasons for connecting it with Cambridge: first, the mention of Momus in the Prologue to *Wily* is, as Fleay pointed out,³² in the same spirit as the Induction to the *Return from Parnassus, Part II*, and second, Churms' stating that he had been "at Cambridge a Scholler."³³ References to Momus, however, occur far too frequently in the drama of the time to allow our giving much weight to his mention here.³⁴ Similarly the mention of Churms' having been "at Cambridge a Scholler" seems to deserve little consideration. In the first place *Cambridge* may have been used for alliteration. Churms says: "I haue beene at *Cambridge* a Scholler, at *Cales* a Souldier, and now in the Country a Lawyer, and the next degree shal be a Connicatcher." Again, it should be noted that Churms is the villain of the play. Had it been Sophos who had been at Cambridge, there might be reason for the claim; but a Cambridge audience could hardly have felt complimented in seeing a son of Cambridge do all in his power to cozen Sophos, the personification of learning. Possibly the reference is meant for a good-natured "slam"—perhaps by a

³⁰ *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, p. 157 n., and *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, vi, 338 n.

³¹ *Malone Society Reprint*, p. vii.

³² *Biog. Chron.*, II, 158.

³³ Line 68.

³⁴ The mention of Momus might equally well be offered as an argument for Oxford authorship. William Gager had, at the close of a series of performances at Oxford in 1592, brought upon the stage this god of ridicule, who attacked acting and plays in general. Momus' criticisms were answered and he himself held up to contumely in an *Epilogus Responsivus*. (Boas, *University Drama*, 233.) Out of this jest grew the Gager-Rainolds Controversy, Rainolds thinking that Gager intended to satirize him, as he had formerly expressed some of the views which were satirized in Momus. This controversy seems to have been still before the public in 1599, when there was published *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes be way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainolds, wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted*.

student of the sister university. Moreover, the nature of the satire in *Wily* and development of the plot are entirely different from those of the plays of the Parnassus trilogy. There is none but the most ordinary verbal similarity, and there is the striking difference that whereas Philomusus, Studioso, and the others are continually voicing their discontent with their poverty, Sophos is quite satisfied with his material wealth:

I am not rich, I am not very poore,
I neither want nor euer shall exceede,
The meane is my content, I liue twixt two extreames.³⁵

That *Wily Beguiled* is a school play has been generally admitted. The fact that Beaumont seems to have used it, however, in constructing his satire in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*³⁶ seems to indicate that it was acted upon the London stage, and most likely Ward is right in conjecturing that it was a University play adapted for a London audience.^{36a} That the University at which it was originally performed, however, was not Cambridge but Oxford, I shall attempt to show by connecting *Wily Beguiled* with the lost *Wylie Beguylie* which was performed at Merton College, Oxford, during the Christmas holidays of 1566-7.

IV

By all odds the most interesting question connected with *Wily Beguiled* is the possibility of its being in some way related to the lost *Wylie Beguylie*. Mr. Boas, however, in writing about the University drama, has twice dodged this interesting issue. In the *Cambridge History* he laments the loss of *Wylie Beguylie*, but adds that as *Wily Beguiled* was influenced so directly by *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, it is doubtful whether it can be connected with the Merton comedy of 1567.³⁷ But it seems that *Wily Beguiled* as we have it is a reworked play, and if it is, the question of its relation to *Wylie Beguylie* is at once reopened. Though he apparently did not suspect any relationship between the two plays, Professor Ward,

³⁵ Lines 790-792.

³⁶ See my note in *Modern Language Notes*, xxxv, 503-4.

^{36a} *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, II, 612.

³⁷ VI, 338 n.

in a passage which I have already quoted, has suggested that *Wily* represents a revision of an earlier play. Professor Baskervill is the only writer I have found who suggests that *Wily Beguiled* may have been a reworking of *Wylie Beguylie*, all other critics taking a stand similar to that of Mr. Boas. In reviewing the *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Mr. Baskervill criticises Mr. Boas for not discussing the possible relationship of the two plays, and points out that the humor of *Wily Beguiled* is of a type no more subtle than that of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.²⁸ The spirit of the whole play—or rather of all the comic scenes—certainly seems to belong to a period far earlier than 1600. The *do you mark?*, *do you understand?*, *do you see?*, with which Will Cricket punctuates his longer speeches recall the *See now?* of Hodge. In a number of comic passages also *Wily* is reminiscent of the two earliest English comedies. Will, for instance, has the same queer grounds for hope in his love-making as have Ralph Roister and Hodge:

Truly I was neuer with hir, but I know I shall speed. For tother day she lookt on me and laught, and thats a good signe (ye know).²⁹

²⁸ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIV (1915), 620.

²⁹ Lines 104-06. Compare *Ralph Roister Doister*, I, ii, 163, 165-66:

"I knowe she loveth me, but she dare not speake.

She looked on me twentie tymes yesternight,
And laughed so."

And *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, II, i, 62-4.

"Kirstian Clack, Tom Simpsons maid, by the masse, coms hether
to morow,

Cham not able to say, betweene us what may hap;
She smyled on me last Sunday, when ich put on my cap."

Similarly Will's promise to Pegge in *Wily Beguiled*:

"When thou art ready to sleepe, Ile be ready to snort:

"When thou art in health, Ile be in gladnesse," etc. (ll. 680 ff.), recalls the famous letter of Ralph Roister; while his "rolling, rattling, rumbling eloquence":

"Sweet Pegge, honny Pegge, fine Pegge, daintie Pegge, brave
Pegge, kind Pegge, comely Pegge," (636-37),

suggests the passage in *Ralph Roister*, IV, iii, 74-77:

"Gentle mistresse Custance now, good mistresse Custance,
Honey mistresse Custance now, sweete mistresse Custance,
Golden mistresse Custance now, white mistresse Custance,
Silken mistresse Custance now, faire mistresse Custance."

Several of Will's speeches contain such doggerel passages as:

But for a sweet face, a fine beard, comely corps,
And a Carowsing Codpeece,
All *England* if it can
Show mee such a man,
To win a wench by gis,
To clip, to coll, to kisse
As *William Cricket* is.⁴⁰

And again:

Sweet hony, bonny, suger candie, *Pegge*,
Whose face more faire, then Brocke my fathers Cow,
Whose eyes do shine like bacon rine,
Whose lips are blue of azure hue,
Whose crooked nose downe to her chin doth bow.⁴¹

These passages, mixed with his singing of short snatches, his dancing, his talking to the audience, as in lines 427 ff., 669, 1584, and elsewhere, suggest that Will Cricket is much nearer the old vice than were the clowns of 1600. Then too, the chief humor of the last part of the play consists in Fortunatus' beating Robin Goodfellow and Churms off the stage—an old comic device, though perhaps an eternal one.

There are also several evident contradictions and incongruities in the play which make it seem that *Wily Beguiled* represents a reworking of an older play. The first passage suggesting revision is in scene iv. Until scene xvi all of Churms' plans turn out successfully. It is not until this scene that he receives his whipping at the hands of Fortunatus. It surprises us, therefore, to read in scene iv the following dialogue:

Wil. Lawer wipe cleane: do you remember?
Churms. Remember, why?
Wil. Why since you know when.
Churms. Since when?
Wil. Why since you were bumbasted, that your lubberly legges would
not carrie your lobcocke bodie;
When you made an infusion of your stinking excrements,
in your stalking implements:
O you were plaguy frayd, and fowly raide.⁴²

⁴⁰ Lines 1532-38.

⁴¹ Lines 441-445.

⁴² Lines 358-366. *Araid* is used in this sense in *Jack Juggler*, l. 293.

These lines can hardly be taken as a prophecy, nor can they well refer to a previous beating, for there is indication that the knavery of Churms had never before been discovered. When they are forced to flee, Robin tells Churms that they will "go into some place where wee are not knowne, and there set up the art of knaverie with a second edition."⁴³ The references to the whipping must either have been inserted by one who did not take into consideration just at what point Churms had received his beating or have been transferred from the latter part of the play by some reviser who did not notice the incongruity.

Again, either Will Cricket's inviting Robin Goodfellow to his wedding or his expressed opinions of Robin would seem to be a later insertion. The only time in the play at which Will meets Robin he is deathly afraid of him, and exclaims:

. . . Sounds, I thinke he be a witch. . . . Ile speak him faire, and get out ons companie: for I am afraid on him.⁴⁴

Again when Mother Midnight and Pegge are discussing Robin, Will adds:

. . . I sweare by the bloud of my codpiece,
An I were a woman I would lug off his lave eares,
Or run him to death with a spit: and for his face,
I thinke tis pittie there is not a lawe made,
That it should be fellonie to name it in any other places
then in baudie houses.⁴⁵

Between these two speeches, however, when Will is telling Ploddail and Peter what guests he is to have at his wedding, he speaks of Robin in an entirely different manner. Speaking of the honest Dutch Cobbler who is to be his chief guest, Will adds:

For hees an honest fellow, and a good fellow:
And he begins to carrie the verie badge of good fellowship
vpon his nose; that I do not doubt, but in time he wil prooue
as good a Copper companion as *Robin Goodfellowe* himselfe.

.
And then there wil be *Robin Goodfellow*, as good a drunken
rogue as liues: and *Tom Shoomaker*; and I hope you wil not
deny that hees an honest man, . . .

And a number of other honest rascals. . . .⁴⁶

⁴³ Lines 2241-2243.

⁴⁴ Lines 457 ff.

⁴⁵ Lines 1929-1934.

⁴⁶ Lines 1648-1651, 1661-1663, 1665.

The fear which Robin instilled in Pegge is clearly shown in the opening lines of scene xv; and in view of the embarrassment Robin's presence would have caused all concerned, it is surprising that Will should have looked forward with such anticipation toward having him as a chief wedding guest.

The style of *Wily Beguiled*, also, presents many difficulties, and there are numerous passages which suggest patchwork. Much of the verse is as smooth as that of any of Shakspeare's predecessors, but interspersed with it are lines of poor meter, no polish, and an entirely different tone. Frequently a speech contains both prose and verse, as in the passage following line 520:

Now Sir, Ile fit my selfe to the olde crummy Churls humors, and make them belieue Ile perswade *Lelia* to marry *Peter Ploddall*, and so get free accesse to the wench at my pleasure:

Now oth other side Ile fall in with the Scholler, and him Ile handle cunningly too;

Ile tell him that *Lelia* has acquainted me with hir loue to him:

And for because hir Father much suspects the same,

He mewes hir vp as men do mew their hawkes,

And so restraines hir from hir *Sophos* sight.

Ile say, because she doth repose more trust,

Of secrecie in me, then in another man,

In courtesie she hath requested me,

To do hir kindest greetings to hir Loue."

Starting as prose, the speech ends as verse, the whole tone of the speech changing. Though the verse is by no means so good as most of the verse in the play, it is evident from such expressions as "and for because" and "hir *Sophos* sight" that the author was striving for meter.

The speech of *Sophos* following line 283 clearly shows, I think, two hands. As *Lelia* and Nurse *exeunt*, *Sophos* says:

Farewell my loue, faire fortune be thy guide.

Now *Sophos*, now bethinke thy selfe

How thou maist win her fathers will to knit this happie knot.

Alas thy state is poore, thy friends are few,

And feare forbids to tell my fates to friend:

Well, Ile trie my Fortunes;

"Lines 519-533.

And finde out some conuenient time,
 When as her fathers leysure best shal serue
 To conferre with him about faire *Lelias* loue.

In the last four lines, beginning with "Well, Ile trie by Fortunes," the reader must notice a complete change. There is a distinct lowering in the style. These lines are not in the vein of bombastic pedantry that characterizes the speeches of *Sophos* throughout the play. In them we have, I think, slightly altered remnants of an earlier form of the play.

Other passages that show differences in style and tone are those following lines 500, 968, 1005, 1763, 2000, 2021. Perhaps the best stylistic evidence for revision is to be seen in the speech of *Robin Goodfellow* in lines 1005 and following:

Why, Master *Gripe* he casts beyond the moone,
 And *Churms* is the only man, he puts in trust with his daughter,
 and (Ile warrant) the old *Churle* would take it vpon his
 saluation, that he wil perswade her to marry *Peter Ploddall*:
 But Ile make a foole of *Peter Ploddall*,
 Ile looke him ith face and picke his purse,
 Whil't *Churms* cosen him of his wench,
 And my old gandsir *Holdfast* of his daughter.
 And if he can do so:
 Ile teach him a trick to cosen him of his gold too.
 Now for *Sophos*, let him weare the willow garland,
 And play the melancholie *Malecontent*
 And plucke his hat downe in his sullen eyes,
 And thinke on *Lelia*, in these desert groues:
 'Tis ynough for him to haue her, in his thoughts;
 Although he nere imbrace her in his armes.
 But now, theres a fine deuise comes in my head,
 To scarre the *Scholler*:
 You shall see, Ile make fine sport with him.
 They say, that euery day he keepes his walke
 Amongst these woods and melancholy shades,
 And on the barke of euerie senselesse tree
 Ingraues the tenour of his haples hope.
 Now when hees at *Venus* altar at his Orisons;
 Ile put me on my great carnation nose
 And wrap me in a rowsing *Calueskin* suite,
 And come like some *Hob goblin* or some diuell,
 Ascended from the griesly pit of hell:
 And like a *Scarbabe* make him take his legges:
 Ile play the diuel, I warrant ye.

It is immediately obvious that the five lines after the mention

of Sophos and the lines describing his wanderings in the woods do not harmonize with the others. Their tone is distinctly more exalted. Though a few of the other lines could pass for blank verse, the majority of them are in prose, and should be so printed, as in the first part of the speech. Moreover, these lines are not necessary for the sense. The plan is set forth just as clearly if they be omitted. We have here, I believe, an instance of a redactor's leaving or only slightly reworking the lines of the original speech, in order to keep the original sense, but inserting a few lines of his own to improve or heighten the effect.

It is also possible, I think, to point out at least two other instances of insertion. The first and less evident is in scene xii, where Sylvanus appears with his band of "Nymphs and Satyres singing." We are unprepared and not a little surprised at the entrance of Sylvanus into this apparently homely and unsophisticated domestic drama. The value of such an objection, perhaps worth little in itself, is enhanced by the evident contradiction in Sophos' speeches just after the Nymphs and Satyrs *exeunt*. As soon as the music ceases, Sophos, rising from the slumber he has enjoyed during the presence of the woodsprites, joyfully exclaims:

What do I heare? what harmony is this?
 With siluer sound that glutteth *Sophos* eares?
 And driues sad passions from his heauy heart,
 Presaging some good future hap shall fall,
 After these blustering blasts of discontent."⁴⁸

But if we may judge from the speeches immediately following, these sad passions, far from being driven from his heart, have only increased to make his heart more heavy. After greeting Fortunatus, Sophos laments:

My mind sweet friend is like a mastlesse ship,
 Thats huld and tost vpon the surging seas,
 By *Boreas* bitter blasts and *Eoles* whistling winds,
 On Rockes and sands, farre from the wished port
 Whereon my silly ship desires to land;
 Faire *Lelias* loue that is the wished hauen,
 Wherein my wandring mind would take repose,
 For want of which my restlesse thoughts are tost:
 For want of which, all *Sophos* ioyes are lost."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Lines 1335-1339.

⁴⁹ Lines 1364-1372.

This contradiction, though slight and unimportant in itself, assumes some importance in view of the imitation in the second speech from *The Spanish Tragedy*⁵⁰ and of the incompatibility of the dance and song of the Nymphs and Satyrs with the whole atmosphere of the play. Similarly the argument that the song and dance here, with the speeches immediately preceding and following, represent an insertion is strengthened by the fact that there is stronger evidence that the other song in the play is an insertion. This second passage is found in scene xvi. After putting Churms to flight and after uniting Sophos and Lelia, Fortunatus, when setting out to find his father, thus takes his leave of the lovers:

Deare friend adieu, faire sister too farewell,
Betake y our selues vnto some secret place:
Vntil you heare from me how things fall out.

Exit Fortunatus.

Sophos. We both do wish a fortunate goodnight:

Lelia. And pray the Gods to guide thy steps aright.

Sophos. Now come faire *Lelia*, lets betake our selues
Vnto a little Hermitage hereby:

And there to liue obscured from the world

Till fates and Fortune call vs thence away,

To see the sunshine of our Nuptiall day.

See how the twinkling Starres do hide their borrowed shine

As halfe asham'd their luster so is stain'd,

By *Lelias* beautious eyes that shine more bright,

Then twinkling Starres do in a winters night:

In such a night did *Paris* win his loue.

Lelia. In such a night, *Aeneas* prou'd vnkind.

Sophos. In such a night did *Troilus* court his deare.

Lelia. In such a night, faire *Phyllis* was betraid.

Sophos. Ile proue as true as euer *Troilus* was.

Lelia. And I as constant as *Penelope*.

Sophos. Then let vs solace, and in loues delight,

And sweet imbracings spend the liue-long night.

And whilst loue mounts her on her wanton wings,

Let Descant run on Musicks siluer strings. *Æcunt.*

Then follows "A SONGE" of three stanzas.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the borrowing from *The Merchant of Venice*⁵¹ or to the unnatural delay of the lovers

⁵⁰ *Span. Trag.*, II, ii, 7 ff.

⁵¹ *The Merchant of Venice*, v, i.

after their seeming start. But who sings this song? Does Sylvanus again appear with his chorus of Nymphs and Satyrs? Or do Sophos and Lelia still further delay their departure? More likely it is sung off stage, as its purpose is to relate the passing of the night and the dawn of a new day. Though the action of the play extends over more than a fortnight,⁵² at no other point did our author think it necessary to advise us of the lapse of time. Again it was not the custom of the author to end his scenes with rime tags. No other scene has the double couplet as here; indeed only one scene, scene ii, ends in a rime at all, and there the meter is so faulty that it contrasts sharply with the four lines with which this scene ends.⁵³ Further, it would seem that the song intervenes between the wrong scenes. As I have said, the purpose of the song is to announce the passing of the night and the beginning of the new day. But it would seem that night follows not after this scene, but after the next. Churms and Robin, who realized that "all our shifting knauerie's knowne" and who were "afraid of euerie officer, for whipping,"⁵⁴ would hardly wait until the next day to make their escape.

In view, then, of the long delay of Sophos and Lelia in leaving the stage, of the borrowings from *The Merchant of Venice*, of the problem as to who shall sing the song, of the rimes closing the scene, and of the failure to observe when one day ended and another began, we would, I think, be justified in identifying this passage as the work of a late redactor who, having inserted among other lines the lines borrowed from *The Merchant of Venice*, realized that he had emphasized its being night, and so inserted also, without remembering the content of the following scene, the song to advise us that

Aurora smiles with merry cheere,
To welcome in a happy day.

The argument that *Wily Beguiled* had existed in an earlier form is greatly strengthened by the spasmodic appearance of

⁵² See lines 1391-1392 and 1415-1416.

⁵³ The lines closing scene ii are:

All this makes for my auaille,
He ha the wench my selfe, or else my wits shall faile.

⁵⁴ Lines 2231-2234.

country or southern dialect. There are six and only six cases of dialect in the play. Mother Midnight uses it but twice; in lines 1166 and 2480 she exclaims "by my vay," though in the same lines she says "for," and everywhere else in the play pronounces *f* as *f*. Old Ploddall in lines 1556, 1562, and 2206, says "vortie shillings," though everywhere else in his many speeches he correctly pronounces the *f*. It cannot be that these two words were thus peculiarly pronounced by the author or printer, for "forty" occurs equally as often as "vorty." Neither can these occurrences be explained by lack of type, for in one place in which the dialect is used it is clearly meant to be humorous. Ploddall, meeting with Robin who has just been beaten by Fortunatus, says to him relative to the money he has promised him for "fraying the Scholler": "I sent you vorty shillings, and you shal have the cheese I promis'd you too." Robin replies: "A plague on the vorty shillings, and the cheese too."⁵⁵ The humor of dialect, like the humor of the characterizing phrase, depends entirely upon repetition or constant use. It is inconceivable that any dramatist should seek to secure humor by carefully inserting six bits of dialect four or five hundred lines apart. The appearance of this dialect can only be explained, I think, by our assuming that we have an older play containing dialect, which was revised by one who for some reason wished to eliminate the dialect. Six bits escaped his attention.

I have called attention to the broad and early type of humor in the comic scenes, the evident contradictions, the apparent patchwork of the style, three seeming insertions, and the unexplainable use of dialect. If upon these grounds we may assume the existence of an earlier form of the play, what must have been the nature of the revision? Most of the scenes in which Sophos, Lelia, and Fortunatus speak are written in blank verse with a fluency not found in comedies before the nineties. If *Wily Beguiled* is a revision of an earlier play, there is no doubt that the play was most thoroughly reworked. It is not incredible, however, that a reviser may have followed strictly the promise of Wilmot, who in 1591 declared that *Tancred and Gismund* was "Newly reuiued and polished according to the decorum of these daies."⁵⁶ Such

⁵⁵ Lines 2206-2209.

⁵⁶ Title-page, edition of 1591; facsimile in *Malone Society Reprint*, 1914.

was the case, I believe, with *Wily Beguiled*. The earlier play must have been written in doggerel, or possibly in both prose and doggerel; and the reviser, while keeping in the main the substance of the play and the content of the various speeches, must have worked over the play, eliminating the greater part of the rime, turning most of the speeches of the nobler characters into blank verse, and inserting other material wherever he deemed it expedient. His reworking, however, was not perfect. He failed to observe several evident contradictions; and frequently the smoothness of the lines inserted contrasts sharply with the crudity of the original lines which, for connection or sense, he retained or only slightly modified.

If *Wily Beguiled* as we have it is a revised play, one cannot of course say that it was influenced so directly by *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Romeo and Juliet* that it cannot be connected with the Merton College play of 1567. On the contrary there are numerous features which suggest that *Wily Beguiled* is related to *Wylie Beguylie*. In the first place, as has frequently been pointed out, *Wily Beguiled* seems to have been a school play. The scholar Sophos is just the type of hero that would please a University audience. Speeches such as that of Will Cricket in line 397 and following, likewise suggest that the play was intended for a University audience. Speaking of Lelia and Sophos, Will says:

Nay, I dare take it on my death she loues him,
For hees a scholler: and ware schollers, they haue tricks for
loue yfaith, for with a little Logicke & *pitome colloquium*
theile make a wench do any thing.

The moral of the play is that learning is much to be preferred to riches. Gripe, gaping after gold, prefers the rich fool to the poor scholar. But not so with the heroine.

But *Lelia* scorn's proud *Mammon's* golden mines,
And better likes of learnings sacred lore,
Then of fond Fortunes glistening mockeries."⁷

In the end, however, Gripe repents:

Hir choyce was virtuous, but my wil was base,
I sought to grace hir from the *Indian Mines*,

⁷ Lines 263-265.

But she sought honour from the starrie Mount:
 What franticke fit possest my foolish braine?
 What furious fancie fired so my heart,
 To hate faire Virtue and to scorne desert?⁵⁸

Fortunatus voices the moral of the play when reprimanding his father's greed:

Where golden gaine doth bleare a fathers eyes,
 That pretious pearle fetcht from *Pernassus* mount,
 Is counted refuse, worse then *Bullen* brasse;
 Both ioyes and hope hang of a silly twine,
 That still is subiect vnto flitting time:
 That tournes ioy into griefe, and hope to sad despaire,
 And ends his dayes in wretched worldly care.
 Were I the richest Monarch vnder heauen,
 And had one daughter thrice as faire,
 As was the Grecian *Menelaus* wife,
 Ere I would match hir to an vntaught swaine,
 Though one whose wealth exceeded *Cræsus* store,
 Hir selfe should choose, and I applaud hir choise,
 Of one more poore then euer *Sophos* was,
 Were his deserts but equall vnto his.

.
 As she in Natures graces doth excell:
 So doth *Minerua* grace him full as well.⁵⁹

It has also been noted that, as in all school plays, the Epilogue closes with a request for a *plaudite*.

Further, it would seem that both plays are to be connected with the Christmas holidays. *Wylie Beguylie* we know was performed during the Christmas season;⁶⁰ and *Wily Beguiled* possesses many characteristics which would lead us to connect it with Christmas. Robin Goodfellow's plan to frighten Sophos by putting on his "great carnation nose" suggests the "feynyd berdis, peyntid visers, diffourmyd or colourid visages," against the use of which at Christmas laws were passed so frequently.⁶¹ Among the oldest

⁵⁸ Lines 2373-2378.

⁵⁹ Lines 2336-2350, 2353-2354.

⁶⁰ *Merton College MS. Register*, Jan. 3, 1566/7; quoted by Boas, *University Drama*, p. 157.

⁶¹ See Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 193, 534, 561, 669; and Baskervill, "Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England," *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina), xvii, 34.

of the Christmas sports was the beast dance, in which the performers dressed themselves in the skins of animals.⁶² Very early, too, do we find references to characters impersonating fiends in the Christmas plays;⁶³ and in the Christmas games Robin Goodfellow was frequently a very prominent figure.⁶⁴ In *Wily Beguiled* Robin not only masquerades as a devil by dressing in a calf's skin, but even speaks of his costume as his "Christmas Calue skin sute."⁶⁵ Churms, too, assumes the role of a Christmas figure when he is spoken of by the Nurse as "the knaue of clubs."⁶⁶ From passages in Rowlands' *Knave of Clubs* and in *Like Will to Like* we learn that it was the custom to dub the arch-knave the Knave of Clubs, and the latter passage indicates that this dubbing was connected with the Christmas sports. Newfangle, in deciding whether Tom Tossopot or Ralph Roister is the verier knave, says:

And I (Master Judge) will so bring to pass,
That I will judge who shall be knave of clubs at Christmas."

⁶² Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 166, 256, 391, etc.

⁶³ *Acc. Ld. High Treas. Scot.*, vol. II, 350 (1502): "Item, be the kingis command, to Sainct Nicholas beschop, iij Franch crounis . . . Item, to the deblatis and ruffyis vij." *Ibid.*, IV, 87 (1507): "To Sanct Nicholais . . . xxvijs. To his ruffyis, ix." Quoted in *New English Dictionary* under *Ruffy*. Robin Goodfellow derived many of his characteristics from the devil—as, for instance, his *Ho, Ho, Ho*—and no doubt many of these borrowings were due to the analogy between *Robin* and *Ruffyn*, a conventional name for the devil in the mysteries.

⁶⁴ Jonson introduced him into his Twelfth Night masque of *Love Restored*. (In *Mercurius Fumigosus, or the Smoking Nocturnall*, no. 32, Jan. 3-10, 1665 (reprinted in Hazlitt, *Fairy Tales, Legends, and Romances*, p. 337) is a passage describing Robin's pranks on *Twelfth Night*. Robin is the leading character of *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, ed. Furnivall, *New Shak. Soc. Publ.*, 1876. And in Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angells*, 1636, p. 574, we learn that

Robin Good-fellowes some, some call them fairies.
In solitarie roomes these uprores keepe,
And beat at dores to wake men from their sleepe;
Seeming to force locks, be they ne're so strong,
And keeping Christmase gambols all night long.

⁶⁵ Line 1257.

⁶⁶ Line 1758.

⁶⁷ *The Knave of Clubbs*, Percy Society Publications, IX, iv, lines 7-14.

Moreover, there is a Christmas mummers' play from Lincolnshire, written down in 1824, in which there appear several speeches almost identical with speeches in the Induction to *Wily Beguiled*.⁶³ The Induction could hardly have been based upon the mummers' play: not only are a number of words obviously misunderstood in the latter (a fact which could easily be explained by its oral

Like Will to Like, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, III, 332. The knave of clubs was probably connected with the Twelfth Night sport of choosing the King and Queen. Pepys three times mentions this sport, and under Twelfth Night, 1665-6, narrates how the party turned "to choose King and Queene, and a good cake there was, but no marks found; but I privately found the clove, the mark of the knave, and privately put it into Captain Cocke's piece, which made some mirth, because of his lately being known by his buying of clove and mace in the East India prizes."

⁶³ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 33418. The following are the speeches resembling the Induction of *Wily*:

"Fool. a pitiful case indeed Madam Hey Ho! wher's all this/ paltry poor; still paltry in this place, and yet not perfect for/ shame, step forth people's eyes look's dim with a very red/ expectation.

1st Ribboner. How now m'e Amorous George still as live and as/ blyth and as mad and as melancholy as that Mantletree./ What play have you got here today

Fool Play boy

Rib Yes play/ I look upon the Tittle of the spectimony once a year you old/ scallibush nothing but parch penny. worth tufcoal/ callyely old callymuf's you molling. bolling bangling/ fool stand out of my sight.

Fool Zounds what a man/ have I got here

Rib man you mistake in me I'm no talker/ I am a Juggler I can shew you the trick of the twelves as/ many trickes as there are days in the year toils and moils/ and motes in the Sun. I have them all upon my Finger end/ Jack in the loft quick and be gone.

Fool. How man I'll warrant the

Ribr Hey now man I see thou can do something. hold thy hand,/ here's a shilling for thy labour; take that to the poltry of/ the poor and throw unto them, say thou hast quite lost the/ title of this play, cally-flaskin jest shall stenge our sight/ and you shall hear a new delight."

The opening lines show that it is a Christmas play:

Gentlemen and Ladies

I'm come to see you all/

This merry time of Christmas,

I neither knock nor call; . ./

For a copy of this mummers' play and for innumerable other suggestions I am indebted to Professor C. R. Baskervill of the University of Chicago.

transmission), but the passage in question has no connection with the mummers' play as a whole. The play indeed seems to be merely a combination of other Christmas plays, as several other stanzas are practically identical with stanzas in *The Revesby Sword Play*.⁹⁹ The meter of the play, too, indicates that the lines common to the play and the Induction were later additions, they being the only lines in the play which are not in rime. Either the Induction was used by the author of the mummers' play or there was an older Christmas play from which both the Induction and the mummers' play borrowed. Whichever may have been the case, we have added reason for connecting *Wily Beguiled* with the Christmas season.

Again, about the time that *Wily Beguiled* was being prepared for the stage, there is a probability that other Oxford plays were being reworked. We have records of only three other plays as performed at Oxford about the time that *Wylie Beguylie* was performed. The first and second parts of *Palaemon and Arcyte* were performed on September 2 and 4, 1566; *Wylie Beguylie* was performed during the Christmas season of 1566-7; and *Damon and Pithias* followed just a year later. In Henslowe's *Diary* are recorded a lost play *Palaemon and Arcyte*, 1594, and a lost play by Chettle, *Damon and Pithias*, 1600.¹⁰ As *Wily Beguiled* was

⁹⁹ In the opening speech the fool says:

My name is noble Anthony
I'm as live and as/ blyth and as mad
and as melancholy as that mantletree/
make room for noble Anthony
and all his Jovial Company.

Compare the speech of the fool in *The Revesby Sword Play*, Manly, I, 305. Compare the speech of Pepper Britches, Manly, I, 308, with the following speech of the Third Ribboner:

I am my Fathers eldest Son
and heir of all his Lands/
and hope in a short time
it will all fall in my hands.

I was/ brought up at Linsecourt
all the days of my life,
I'm/ walking with this Lady fair
I wish she was my wife. . ./

¹⁰ Greg, I, 19 and 118.

probably reworked within a year or eighteen months after the second of these two lost plays, the suggestion immediately presents itself that the dramatists in their mad rush for plots seized upon and revised these three early Oxford plays.

This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that if one compares *Wily Beguiled* with the plays which we have of the time of *Wylie Beguylie*, one finds that those characteristics which the original of *Wily Beguiled* must have possessed are to be found in plays contemporary with the earlier *Wylie*. Most likely the original was in doggerel, the reviser carefully eliminating most of the rime. Possibly, however, the original was in prose, with no more doggerel passages than appear in the revision. But it would not have been surprising even had *Wylie Beguylie* been in prose, for *The Supposes*, performed the year before, is in prose. As I have said, the original must have contained a considerable amount of dialect. That dialect was popular in the sixties is shown in *Damon and Pithias* by Edwards' introducing the figure of Grim the Collier with his country dialect into the court of Dionysius. *Wily Beguiled* abounds in proverbs and familiar phrases, and that these were popular in the plays of the sixties is attested by the great number of such phrases that Gascoigne in *The Supposes* and the translator of *Buggbears* insert into their translations with no authority whatever from the original.

Again, *Wylie Beguylie*, to have been the original of *Wily Beguiled*, must have shown considerable Italian influence, for *Wily Beguiled* has the conventional characters—the pedant, the nurse, and the parasite—and the Italian fondness for disguised rogues. Tricks played upon the pedant were also common in Italian comedy. In *Il Marescalco*, for instance, a boy attaches a fire-cracker to the pedant's coat-tails and sets it alight. Compare with this trick Robin Goodfellow's plan to frighten the scholar by dressing as a devil. And a similar disguise is, of course, found in *Buggbears*.

Mr. Boas states that "The first University play with a plot of undoubted Italian origin was *Hymenaeus*, acted at St. John's, probably in March, 1578-9."¹ But we have no right whatever to assume that *Hymenaeus* was the first University play showing

¹ *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, p. 134.

Italian influence, for, as Mr. Boas says later, "At Oxford, as at Cambridge, the records of the University stage for a period of nearly fifteen years after Elizabeth's visit are very meagre. No extant plays can be assigned to this time, and the account books of Christ Church and St. John's College, which would doubtless have furnished some details of theatrical entertainments, are unfortunately missing till 1577-8 and 1579-80 respectively."⁷² It is obvious that we cannot, with such incomplete records, assert there were no Italian plays at the Universities. On the contrary, in view of the great vogue of Italian literature in England during these years, it is highly probable that Italian plays were performed at the Universities. According to the dating of Mr. Bond, its last editor, *Buggbears*, based primarily upon Grazzini's *La Spiritata*, was performed in 1564 or 1565. Mr. Boas does not discuss *Buggbears*, though Herr Grabau had thought that the manuscript bore traces of the school origin of the play. The elaborateness with which the music is copied into the manuscript does suggest that it was a school play. But whether it be a school play or not, it bears witness of an Italian drama's serving as the source of an English play as early as 1565. In 1566 *The Supposes*, which had been translated from Ariosto by George Gascoigne, was performed at Gray's Inn. In the same year appeared the first part of Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure*; in the next, the second part of Painter and Geoffrey Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* from Bandello via Belleforest. The tremendous popularity of these Italian stories is shown in the attack by Roger Ascham, who, it will be remembered, died in 1568, upon "the fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest manners";⁷³ and that they furnished the plots for many plays is indicated by Gosson's denouncing in 1579 the *Pallace of Pleasure* as among the works which "have beene thoroughly ransackt to furnish the playehouses in London."⁷⁴ Amidst this great enthusiasm for Italian literature, would it be surprising that an Oxford play of 1567

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷³ *Schoolmaster*, *Little Classics* edition, 81.

⁷⁴ *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, quoted by Brooke, *The Tudor Drama*, p. 234.

should adopt several of the conventional characters and situations of Italian comedy?

To summarize—for the six following reasons I believe that *Wily Beguiled* is a reworked form of the Merton College *Wylie Beguylie*:

1. *Wily Beguiled* is evidently a revised play.
2. Its content indicates that it was undoubtedly a school play.
3. Both plays seem to be connected with the Christmas season.
4. The humor of *Wily Beguiled* is of a type no more subtle than that of plays contemporary with *Wylie Beguylie*.

5. There is indication that about the same time that *Wily Beguiled* must have been reworked other Oxford plays were being reworked.

6. Those characteristics which the original of *Wily Beguiled* must have possessed are found in plays contemporary with *Wylie Beguylie*.

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DESIDERATA IN THE STUDY OF SPENSER

BY FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER

The past quarter century has witnessed a striking growth in the study of Edmund Spenser, where the centre of interest perhaps has been shifting from England to America. Many of us Americans feel a peculiar interest of inheritance in the culture and in the literature of England which dates before the great colonial migration to these shores. And Edmund Spenser, with his extraordinary blend of qualities, renaissance zest and range, modulated Platonic-Puritanic moralism, romance-with-practicality, along with his preëminent gift of purely poetic power, appeals strongly to us, perhaps not so much for what we are as for what we are always aspiring to be.

I do not think that this growth has been mainly an academic or professional one, however largely it has been witnessed by academic discussion and dissertation. The very considerable number of editions of Spenser which have been absorbed during this period both in England and America proves that he has been read. I do not know nor do I care whether he has been read by the man in the street, but he has been read at any rate by that saving remnant which still, and always, is accessible to the appeal of poetry, and read often with an effort at real understanding, as the continual use of annotated editions proves.

A two-century cycle of Shakespeare-study has now reached a certain finish and completion. But no such finish or completion has yet been attained in the study of Spenser, although the progress of this study is in many ways paralleling the progress of the study of Shakespeare.

In the course of a rapid general survey of the field of the study of Spenser which I have recently been making in the process of compiling a selective bibliography of Spenser¹ some of the gaps

¹ Which I hope to publish soon under the title of *A Reference Guide to Spenser*. Three-quarters of my material is now in manuscript ready for the printer, but there remain two or three rather difficult sections to block out and reduce to form.

in this study have been forced upon my attention. Some of these are of a rather large and general sort. Others are minor topics. Others still are the numerous little baffling puzzles which recur in the study of Spenser more frequently than in the case of any other English author of equal prominence.

The first of the desiderata in the study of Spenser, as all competent students will agree, is that of a modern variorum edition. Todd's variorum edition had many good points; Grosart's abortive attempt was ambitious; and a considerable amount of material available for a variorum edition has been brought to light since Todd's day and lies scattered in various editions of parts of Spenser, in learned dissertations and in various periodicals. The contributions of recent years, especially in the study of the works, are many of them of high merit. But all of this material needs to be assembled, digested, and attached to the text in one comprehensive edition. That will be no small labor, if properly performed, but well worth the doing. Luckily the major part of the labor of text-editing already and very recently has been performed in the editions of Smith and Sélincourt, of Dodge, and of others presenting selected portions of the poetry of Spenser. And the monumental Concordance to Spenser by Osgood and the Subject Index of Whitman will vastly abridge the course of the labor of the variorum editor. This work is obviously the next thing to come upon the carpet. Whether America or England will have the honor of its performance remains to be seen. I understand that the project now has the serious consideration of a group of American scholars, and will soon be undertaken if some public spirited publisher or some institution will agree to produce the work.

There is a considerable body of material collateral to Spenser which is deserving of study. Some of it is in print, but not easily accessible. There is the Spenser-Apocrypha. I do not mean by this the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century "imitations" masquerading under Spenser's name, but the things which reputable scholars have either doubtfully or confidently attributed to Spenser. *Britain's Ida* and the *Doleful Lay of Clorinda* have recently been discussed, but there are other pieces in print or in manuscript unmentioned or barely mentioned by the writers on Spenser. Dr. Pierce Butler and I are planning to bring out a

volume of *Material Illustrating Spenser* which will make some of this collateral material available. This will include

1) The MS. Dialogue on Ireland between Sylvanus and Peregrine, in the Public Records Office, attributed to Spenser by Bagwell.²

2) Alabaster's *Eliseis*.

3) The Translation of *Axiochus*, from the text of 1607. Probably the same as the text of 1592, long attributed to Spenser, but apparently lost.

4) Portions of the *De Rebus Gestis*, by "E. S." published without date, but between 1570-1580

—and one or two shorter pieces, such as the Latin verses by R. H. (Richard Harvey?) on Spenser's death (which are possibly a copy of one of the copies of verses thrown into Spenser's tomb, as Camden relates), and Sir Kenelm Digby's *Discourse concerning Edmund Spenser* (Harl. MS. 7375).

After a variorum edition I should place next in importance a new Life of Spenser. In listing the material, documentary and otherwise, to which I have been able to find reference, I have been strongly impressed by the inadequacy of the treatment of Spenser's life up to the present. Craik's attempt was in the right spirit, but much has come to light since Craik's time. Grosart was industrious and zealous, but as a writer of biography unsatisfactory. Sélincourt's Life (in the one-volume Oxford edition of Spenser, 1912) is by far the best of its kind, treating the biographical material to be found in Spenser's writings with extraordinary skill. But its scope is necessarily limited, and the outside material is in part neglected and in part summarily handled, without full and adequate consideration. Other very respectable attempts to write the life have been made, but none of them is thoroughly critical, nor have any of them utilized and interpreted as it should be utilized the very considerable material now available. It will prove to be a very difficult task, but not impossible. The chief trouble, in my opinion, is either that these writers have not been sufficiently critical and have not sufficiently discriminated what is documented

² The Briefe Note on Ireland, "By Spencer" according to the guess of the editor of the Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1598-99 (probably Spenser's final official report) is accessible in Grosart's edition of Spenser, Vol. I, 537-55, but seems to be totally neglected by later writers on Spenser.

fact, what is probably true, and what is only possibly true by inference and by lack of positive evidence,³ or they have failed to exercise the historical imagination in collating and interpreting the documented facts.

The task, however, would be an alluring one, however arduous. There is sufficient material known about Spenser's life, especially his life in Ireland, to help even the casual reader of it to visualize in some measure the real Spenser in those years of exile from 1580 to 1598.

Closely connected with the life of Spenser would be the next of the desiderata on my list. A new edition of the *View of Ireland* based on *all* the manuscripts would seem to be indicated. But more than this we need an annotated edition explaining its allusions, its historical material, and its probable sources. This will involve a thorough study of Irish history, antiquities, law, folk-lore and customs as they bear on Spenser's text. A big job, but one yet to be done.

And last, and probably one of the most difficult, of the larger topics calling for elucidation is that of the Spenser-Harvey Correspondence. This needs detailed annotation and a renewed study in its bearings on the life. Various passages in it are important in this aspect and have never been adequately utilized. It is true that they are full of puzzles and are difficult to interpret, but none the less they should not be ignored and some sort of an explanation should be attempted.⁴

There is a large number of minor topics in the field of Spenser-study calling for treatment. I may briefly mention only a few of them. The Lancashire question, the authorship of the verses in the *Theatre of Worldlings*, the Rosalind question (but not the "altera Rosalindula" question), the "EK" question, the dating of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, and a few other minor puzzles seem to have been debated to a stalemate, at least until entirely new evidence is discovered. The question of the date of birth, of a possible earlier marriage, of a trip to Ireland in 1577, of the carrying of dispatches from France in 1569, and of some other

³ Even the careful life in the D. N. B. frequently fails so to discriminate, presenting many statements as accepted fact which at best are plausible conjecture.

⁴ Grosart, I believe, is the only one who has made a serious attempt to handle this material.

possible journey to the Continent, are still perhaps open questions, without hopeful prospect of solution. There are others, however, more hopeful.

A study of the other "Spensers" or "Spencers" of the poet's times, especially the several Edmund Spensers, is clearly indicated. Grosart claimed to have discovered eleven hundred Elizabethan Spensers. But if the facts concerning the few who figure at all historically could be dug out and collated, we might be greatly helped in solving some of the open points in Spenser's life. Thus who was Turbervile's Spenser? Who the Edmund Spenser who was the bearer of dispatches from France in 1569? And who the Edmund Spenser, father of Florence Spenser, so earnestly discussed by Collier and his critics?

Similar light on the life might be thrown by an intensive study of Spenser's Circle—that is, those of his contemporaries in their relations to him, with whom there is fair reason for assuming that he had some contact. I have compiled a provisional list of about a hundred of these. Of course, the list should be much longer. The assemblage of evidence in each case would be an interesting and doubtless not infrequently a fruitful task. The relations of Bryskett and Spenser, of Grey and Spenser, and of Boyle and Spenser, especially, ought to be further investigated, and I have no doubt that neglected or unknown evidence on these topics is yet to be discovered. And by the way who were Lord Grey's *other* secretaries, 1580-82?

Material lies at hand in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office for a study of Spenser's Autograph. This might lead to the discovery of unknown holograph manuscripts of Spenser.

A sort of itinerary of Spenser's travels in Ireland might well be attempted. As private secretary of the Lord Deputy in 1580-82 Spenser probably accompanied Lord Grey in his journeyings about Ireland, and Grey pretty well covered the country. The *View of Ireland* reveals a wide knowledge of Irish topography. Then also we should have a list and an elucidation of Spenserian Place Names in Ireland.⁵ A search of the public documents would show Spenser's name in connection with many Irish names of places.

⁵The names mentioned in the poems are indexed by Whitman. But those mentioned elsewhere are quite as important.

A little study of the history and functions of the Council of Munster and of the duties of its Clerk would illustrate one phase of Spenser's life.

The "Spenser Tradition" should be studied. Soon after his death and throughout the seventeenth century various anecdotes about the poet kept on coming to light. What value and authority as biographical material has each of these? Some of the early biographies are little more than a string of such traditions.*

And finally there are two literary studies of Spenser's works which require extended treatment. These are his indebtedness to Ovid, doubtless very considerable, and Spenser as the founder of modern English poetic diction. The latter topic has been partially studied, especially in relation to the *Shepherds' Calendar* and to the later Spenserian "imitations." But a general study of the Diction in its more pervasive if less imitative effects remains a desideratum.

Chicago.

* An instructive illustration of the inconsistency with which the evidence of the Spenser tradition is treated is seen in the fact that while the competent Life by Sélincourt accepts one piece of Aubrey's gossip (that of the visit to Hampshire: see the one-volume Oxford edition of Spenser, p. xxix), it disregards two or three of the minor points presented by Camden and by Ware. Now Aubrey's anecdotes, while not necessarily falsifications, are *per se* suspect, while Camden was a contemporary and friend of Spenser, and Ware in his youth was connected with some of Spenser's circle in Ireland and always deeply interested in him. Both Camden and Ware have the reputation of being historians of integrity.

ANOTHER VIEW OF SPENSER'S LINGUISTICS

By F. F. COVINGTON, JR.

In an article entitled "Spenser's Linguistics in the Present State of Ireland," (Mod. Phil., Jan. 1920), J. W. Draper has confirmed the opinion of those who have read Spenser's prose tract that the poet's knowledge of the science of language was very limited. By a detailed study of the words relating in various ways to Ireland and etymologized by Spenser in the "View" Draper has shown that Spenser has exhibited a tendency to allow his fancy to usurp the place of accurate knowledge of the Celtic languages and the laws of derivation, branches of knowledge in which he was conspicuously deficient. Draper, however, has allowed himself some liberties in his treatment of the subject which, it seems to me, strict fairness to Spenser must call in question. At least two of the studies of the words used by Spenser involve an important principle which must be taken into consideration in any study of a work the text of which has not been definitely established.

Throughout his article Draper seems to assume that the Globe (Morris) text is the final authority not only for Spenser's own words, but for his individual orthography. This is an exceedingly risky assumption, in view of the facts: (1) that Morris does not claim that his text is authoritative (See Preface); (2) that the Lambeth MS, upon which Grosart bases his text of the "View," and which, according to the same authority, is "the copy submitted by the Author to the Archbishop of Canterbury for License," differs often both in wording and spelling from the Globe; (3) that Ware's, the first printed text,² agrees with neither of these two throughout, and sometimes differs from both.

In his study of the word *gaull* Draper bases his discussion upon the presence of a -u- in a word that is normally spelled *gall*. "*Gaull*, he says, is Irish for 'straunge inhabitaunt' . . . There is a word *gall*, meaning *foreign*, in Irish; and the introduction of

¹ The Complete Works . . . of E. Spenser, ed. Grosart, vol. ix, "Note," p. 9.

² Ancient Irish Histories, Dublin, 1809. (Reptd. from Ware's ed., 1633).

the -u- may show either that Spenser took advantage of Elizabethan license in spelling to enforce his etymologies, or that he was trying to reproduce an Irish dialectic pronunciation *goul*, or merely that he had chanced upon that spelling in Irish." Any one of these suppositions is allowable, no doubt, if Spenser spelled the word with a -u-; but if it can be shown that the probabilities are strongly against Spenser's having used such a spelling, the whole discussion is pointless. The evidence is against Draper's contention. In Grosart's text the word is spelled *gald*, and it is so spelled in Ware (to which fact, by the way, Draper calls attention in a foot-note, apparently without noting its significance). Furthermore, Buchanan, upon whom Spenser leaned heavily in these matters, has the form GULD in a passage bearing directly upon this point. I quote part of chapter XXVIII, book II, of his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*:

"Hae autem tres nationes [i. e., the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots], totum Britanniae latus, quod ad Hiberniam vergit, tenent; nec levia indicia, sed penitus inustas notas Gallici sermonis & cognationis adhuc servant. Illud autem in primis, quod Scoti prisci, omnes nationes, quae Britanniam incolunt, in duo genera partiuntur: alteros GAEL, alteros GALLE, sive GULD, appellant; hoc est, (ut ego quidem interpretor,) *Gallaecos, & Gallos*. . . Vox enim GALLE, aut GULD, non est minus apud eos significans quam apud Graecos & Latinos Barbarus, apud Germanos WALSCH."³

To which may be added in further confirmation the following passage from Campion's "Historie of Ireland," which Spenser had almost certainly read: "It is further to be known, that the simple Irish are utterly another people then our Englishe in Ireland, whom they call despitefully *boddai Sassoni's* and *boddai Ghalt*, that is, English and Saxon churles."⁴

On the same page Draper discusses the word *farrih*, a war cry, which Spenser thinks is of Scottish derivation, on account of its resemblance to the name of one of the "first kings of Scotland called Fargus, Fergus, or Ferragus." This derivation is "fanciful" enough, but not, I believe, so fanciful as Draper considers it;

³ Ed. Ruddiman, Leyden, 1725.

⁴ Ware's ed., 1800, page 20, (first published 1571.)

for it is more than likely that Spenser wrote not *farrih*, but *ferragh*, a form certainly closer to "Fargus, Fergus, and Ferragus" than *farrih*. In this instance again the spelling of the Globe text seems inaccurate. Both Grosart⁵ and Ware⁶ print *ferragh*. But there is stronger testimony than textual. The evidence as to the *sound* of this war cry tends to show that the spelling in Ware and Grosart more closely approximates it than that in the Globe. Campion in his account of this cry has *faro*; ⁷ and Todd's note on this passage in the "View" tends to confirm my contention:⁸ "The vulgar Irish supposed the subject of this war song to have been *Forroch* or *Ferragh* (an easy corruption of *Pharroh* which Selden, in his note on Drayton's *Polyolbion*, says was the name of the war song once in use amongst the Irish kernes), a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale. . . ."⁹

In his discussion of a third word involving the question of orthography Draper charges Spenser, by implication, with carelessness (or capriciousness at least), when the carelessness is his own. On page 119 of his article we read: "The third of the legal terms is 'tanistih,' usually spelled *tanistry*, the custom of choosing the successor of a chief during his lifetime from any member of his family." But "Tanistih" in the Globe text is the man, the tanist, not the custom, which is spelled *Tanistrye* consistently, except in one passage, where the juxtaposition of the two words, probably, was responsible for the form *Tanistrih*. It is strange that Draper should have overlooked such passages as these, both on the page from which he cites the word, and the preceding. For on page 611 the Globe text reads: ". . . for all the Irishe doe holde theyr landes by Tanistrye; which is, (as they say) noe more then a personall estate for his life time, that is, Tanistih, by reason that he is admitted therunto by election of the countrey."

"What is this that you call Tanistih and Tanistrye?" And on page 612, to which Draper refers, we find: "But how is the Tanistih chosen?" "And so it may well be that from the first

⁵ P. 90, Grosart's ed.

⁶ P. 92, Ware's ed., 1809.

⁷ *Historie of Ireland*, Ware's ed., 1809, p. 39.

⁸ *Works of E. Spenser*, ed. Todd, 1805, vol. VIII, p. 372.

⁹ Todd also cites Warton's note on *Sir Ferraugh*, F. Q. IV. II. 4, *ibid.* Warton might have added F. Q. IV. IV. 8.

originall of this woord Tanistih and Tanistrih came . . . ” Grosart¹⁰ and Ware,¹¹ it may be noted, have *tanist*, the usual form.

It is not a matter of vast importance, of course, whether Spenser spelled these words one way or the other; the establishing of his own spelling could do little towards rehabilitating his etymologies. But it is a matter of importance to realize that we cannot be certain how Spenser spelled them, and not to speculate overmuch about, or build theories upon, word-forms insufficiently attested by textual or manuscript authority.

The next point upon which I must take issue with Draper lies in a matter of interpretation. After showing the weakness of Spenser's derivation of *palatine* (pages 114-115), Draper continues: "In like manner his derivation of *Scot* seems fanciful. He takes it from the Greek 'scotos,' which he defines as 'darkeness,' At least he seems right in that it is very likely not a Gaelic word." Draper then proceeds with an etymological discussion, and concludes with the opinion that Spenser's derivation "is probably guessed from a chance similarity." The derivation is indeed fanciful; in fact, I believe it was too fanciful even for Spenser. Surely if the sentence is read in its context it will be clear that in this passage Spenser is trying to make a joke; the only one in the "View," and, as might be expected, a rather feeble one. Eudoxus, one of the speakers of the dialogue, after ridiculing Stanihurst, a writer on Ireland, for his attempt to connect the derivation of the name "Scotts" with one "Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh," which he calls a "senceless fable," proceeds: ". . . for whether Scota be an Aegyptian woord or smacke of any learning or judgement, lett the learned judge. But this Scota rather cometh of the Greeke *scotos*, that is, darkeness, which hath not lett him see the light of the trueth."

Irenaeus, the other speaker, replies: "You knowe not, Eudoxus, how well Mr. Stanihurst could see in the darke; perhaps he hath owles or cats eyes, but well I wote he seeth not well the light of the trueth in matters of more waight."¹²

¹⁰ The Complete Works of E. Spenser, ed. Grosart, vol. ix, pp. 21, 22, 23, *et passim*.

¹¹ *Ancient Irish Histories*, Dublin, 1809, vol. i, pp. 10, 11, 12, *et passim*.

¹² P. 633, Globe ed.

At any rate, it seems only fair to give Spenser the benefit of the doubt. It is not my purpose, however, to attempt a defense of Spenser's linguistic vagaries. Draper has discussed them with acuteness and learning, and merits the thanks of all students of that poet for the light he has thrown on the working of the poet's mind when it was concerned with questions of scholarship outside the traditionally prescribed field. Spenser's knowledge of the Celtic languages and of philological science was, it is true, "sadly narrow." But this sad condition was rather common among educated men of his time; and, as Draper says, we must not "lay too much blame upon Spenser for this miscomprehension." Nor should we allow his errors in questions of ethnology (some of which Draper notices in his article) to arouse a feeling of contempt for the poet of the "Faerie Queene" as a mere blunderer in unfamiliar provinces of knowledge, and so blind us to the real value of his methods in the "View." Elton,¹² a well-known ethnologist, pays a high tribute to Spenser's originality in the field of ethnology. Perhaps, considering the "View" in its broader aspects, we may say not inaccurately of its author as he says of the Irish chroniclers, that he errs "in the circumstances, not in the matter."

The University of Texas.

¹² *Origins of English History*, 2d. ed. rev., pp. 157-158.

Studies in Philology

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RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

NOTE:—The following bibliography endeavors to include: (1) all books and articles of scholarly interest and the more important book reviews which appeared in the year ending January 1, 1922; (2) all noteworthy books which appeared in 1920 but which were not included in the "Recent Literature" sections of *Studies* for April, 1920, and July, 1921. Thanks are due to Professors Oliver Towles and S. E. Leavitt for assistance in preparing Section VIII of the present bibliography and to Professor Howard R. Huse, who contributed most of the Dante bibliography.

THORNTON S. GRAVES.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL WORKS

Baskervill, Charles Read. *Recent Works on Phases of the English Renaissance*. *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 168-176.

Croll, Morris W. *Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century*. *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 79-128.

Gerould, James Thayer. *Sources of English History of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689*. Research Publications (Bibliography No. 1) of University of Minnesota. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1921.

Greenlaw, Edwin. *Recent Literature*. *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 362-375.

Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, LVI (1920), pp. 115-149.

Lee, Sir Sidney. *The Year's Work in English Studies, 1919-1920*. Edited for the English Association by Sir Sidney Lee. Oxford University Press, 1921.

Peers, E. Allison, and others. *Bibliography of English Language and Literature, 1920*. Compiled by Members of the Modern Humanities Research Association. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Thompson, E. N. S. *Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century English Literature*. *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 170-231.

II. THE DRAMA AND THE STAGE

Allen, Morse S. *The Satire of John Marston*. Princeton University Dissertation. Columbus, Ohio. T. J. Heer Printing Co., 1920.

Bald, R. C. *Cyril Tournear's 'Atheist's Tragedy,' Act IV, sc. i.* Modern Language Review, xvi, 324.

Boas, F. S. *The Authorship of Fedele and Fortunio*. London Times Literary Supplement, May 5, 1921, p. 292. Discussion by W. W. Greg, *ibid.*, May 12, 1921, p. 308.

Bradford, Gamaliel. *The Women of Middleton and Webster*. Sewanee Review, xxix, 14-29.

Brandl, Alois. *Kyd an den Privy Council über Marlowe*. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 142 (New Series 42), 257.

Reprint of Kyd's letter printed by F. K. Brown in London Times Literary Supplement.

Brett-Smith, H. F. B. (ed.). *Gammer Gurtons Needle*. Percy Reprints No. 2. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1920.

Carter, Henry Holland (ed.). *Every Man in his Humour*. By Ben Jonson. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. Pp. cv + 448. Yale Studies in English No. LII. Yale University Press, 1921.

In his Preface, dated May 1, 1914, Dr. Carter makes the point that the present edition of Jonson's frequently printed play is sufficiently justified on the ground that it not only brings into the compass of a single volume the most important of the widely scattered information regarding the drama but prints together for the first time on opposite pages the texts of the first-quarto and first-folio versions. Whereas the objection may perhaps be raised that Dr. Carter's edition of *Every Man in his Humour* indicates an over-fondness for compilation at the expense of more original work, the editor has done a good deal more than merely accumulate the notes and opinions of other men. The 1601 quarto version of the play, owned by Mr. W. A. White of New York, the basis of the quarto text of the present edition, has been carefully collated with another quarto owned by the same gentleman and with the editions of Cunningham, Grabau, and Bang, based on quartos in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. The results have been carefully tabulated in an extensive introduction, which also contains a discussion of the numerous editions of the 1616 folio text, a detailed comparison of the first-quarto and first-folio versions of the play, a rather unsatisfactory treatment of the complex

question of the date of composition, a short stage history of the drama, a pleasing discussion of the influence of the classics upon Jonson's play, and a critical estimate of the production. The texts of the first quarto and first folio are conveniently printed on opposite pages with adequate textual notes at the bottom of each page. The text itself is followed by a hundred and fifty pages of explanatory notes, many of which are unnecessarily detailed, and a convenient glossary, a bibliography, and an index.

The editor perhaps wisely refrains from discussing such comprehensive subjects as the genesis of the humour-idea and the influence of Jonson's drama upon his contemporaries and successors. One wishes, however, that instead of spending so much energy on the preparation of explanatory notes the editor had gone more fully into the problem of date, instead of accepting substantially the conclusions of Nicholson. One wishes, too, that he had supplied us with more details regarding the stage history of the piece, instead of contenting himself with material found in Genest and Adams, or had attempted to improve upon Collier's conjecture regarding the "principall comedians" printed at the end of the folio and their connection with the acting of the play. In spite of the failure to grapple seriously with these dangerous but interesting problems, Dr. Carter's volume shows evidence of a large amount of labor, and deserves to be compared favorably with the other volumes in the very creditable edition of Jonson being done by the students of Professor Cook.

Chew, Samuel C. *Beaumont on Drunkenness*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 53-55.

Clark, Arthur M. *The Authorship of 'Appius and Virginia.'* Modern Language Review, xvi, 1-17.

An argument that play was plotted and written by Heywood as a companion piece to *The Rape of Lucrece*. Play was later revised hastily by Webster, who did not relish the job imposed upon him by the company.

De Perott, Joseph. *Welsh Bits in the Tudor and Stuart Drama*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 352-54.

Flood, W. H. Grattan. *The King's Players at Dunwich in 1607*. London Times Literary Supplement, April 28, 1921, p. 276.

The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark. With an Appendix by the Architect to the Council on the Architecture of the Building. Published by the London County Council. Pp. 43. London, P. S. King and Son, 1921.

The Preface to this very valuable brochure, signed by James Bird, Clerk of the Council, states that the collection and investigation of the evidence for determining the site of the Globe was done by Mr.

W. W. Braines. Mr. Braines has done a thoroughly convincing job of exploding the theory advanced several years ago by Professor C. W. Wallace (cf. *London Times* for October 2 and 4, 1909 and April 30 and May 1, 1914) that the Globe playhouse was located, not on the south side of Park Street as indicated by the tablet placed on the wall of the brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Company, Limited, but on the north side of the thoroughfare. By patient and ingenious examination of documents hitherto inaccessible to students, Mr. Braines shows conclusively that the plot of ground leased in 1598 by a syndicate composed of the two Burbages, Shakspeare and others was to the south of Maid Lane (now Park Street) and consisted of property now occupied by Southwark Bridge Road and the brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Company. In other words, the results of the investigation of the London County Council agree remarkably with the description of the site of the Globe given in 1795 by Concanan and Morgan in their *History of Southwark*. Mr. Braines refrains from attempting an exact location of the playhouse on a plot of ground with a 156-foot frontage. "The material," he writes (p. 34), "for determining its exact location, however, is so slight as to be practically negligible, and it has therefore not been considered advisable, in an essay which has been based on ascertained facts, to deal with a question which would have to be decided mainly as the result of considerations of a more or less hypothetical character."

The Appendix, entitled "The Architecture of the First Globe Theatre," by G. Topham Forrest, Architect to the Council, offers nothing that is very new, unless it be his belief that the Globe was polygonal (sixteen-sided) instead of round and his placing the staircases to the galleries and tiring-house in projections—a feature suggested to him by the projections shown in the Hollar view (1647) of the Globe and Hope. The five pictures of his conjectural reconstruction of the famous playhouse from various points of view are interesting and well done, though they perhaps owe too much to the numerous recent "reconstructions" of the Fortune and other theatres. It is to be regretted that, probably under the influence of the De Witt sketch of the Swan and such modern reconstructions as those of Albright, the London Stage Society, and even Godfrey, Mr. Forrest has placed the "heavens" or cover to the projecting stage at such a low height as to obscure for those in the upper gallery all action on the balcony and rear stage.

Gollancz, Sir Israel. *Contemporary Lines to Heminge and Condell*. *London Times Literary Supplement*, January 26, 1922, p. 56.

Graves, Thornton S. *The Echo-Device*. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvi, 120-121.

Graves, Thornton S. *Some Allusions to Richard Tarleton*. *Modern Philology*, xviii, 493-96.

Graves, Thornton S. *Notes on Puritanism and the Stage*. Studies in Philology, xviii, 141-169.

Greg, W. W. *Bale's Kynge Johan*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 505

Reply to Mrs. Le Boutillier's article listed below.

Greg, W. W. 'Bengemenes Johnsones Share.' Modern Language Review, xvi, 323.

Reply to Thaler's argument (cf. below) that Jonson was a shareholder in Admiral's Company in July, 1597.

Hillebrand, Harold N. Review of *The Stonyhurst Pageants* edited by Carleton Brown (Göttingen, 1920). Journal English and Germanic Philology, xx, 574-77.

Hillebrand, Harold N. Review of Robert Withington's *English Pageantry*, Vol. I (Harvard University Press, 1918). Journal English and Germanic Philology, xx, 118-24.

Hills, W. N. *The Shakesperian Stage*. Oxford University Press, 1921.

Colored wall map (27x20) with an explanatory leaflet.

Holthausen, F. *Zu Everyman*. Beiblatt zur Anglia, 42 (Sept., 1921), 212-215.

Jordan, John C. *Davenport's 'The City Nightcap' and Greene's 'Philomela.'* Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 281-284.

Judson, Alexander Corbin (ed.). *The Captives; or, The Lost Recovered. Written by Thomas Heywood. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary*. Pp. 180. Yale University Press, 1921.

Students of the drama will welcome this first volume published under the auspices of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University in memory of Francis Bergen. The manuscript of *The Captives*, the only known play by Heywood not included in the 1874 Pearson edition of the dramatist's works, was discovered in the British Museum by the late A. H. Bullen in 1885 and printed in the fourth volume of his *Collection of Old English Plays*, only one hundred and fifty copies of which were issued. Professor Judson's reprint makes easily accessible an interesting old drama heretofore denied to a large body of students.

Professor Judson has wisely refrained from burdening his readers with elaborate and tedious critical apparatus. His Introduction handles briefly the authorship and date of the play, the nature of the manuscript, and the dramatist's treatment of his principal sources—Plautus's *Rudens* and a novella of Masuccio di Salerno. The text

is carefully printed, with the various peculiarities of the manuscript and the faulty or doubtful readings of Bullen listed in foot-notes. The text itself is followed by brief but adequate explanatory notes, a glossary, and a bibliography.

Of special interest are Professor Judson's contentions that the manuscript version of the play, which is very difficult to decipher and marked by many corrections, is the autograph of Heywood; his insistence that the secondary source of the play is the *novella* of Masuccio di Salerno instead of the old French *fabliau* advocated by Professor Kittredge and others; and his numerous improvements on the readings in Bullen's edition of the play, perhaps the most interesting of these being the substitution of *wett* for *well* in the stage-direction at the beginning of II, i: "Storme contynewed. Enter Palestra, all wett, as newly shipwracke and escapt the fury of the seas."

Lawrence, W. J. *The Riddle of 'Philaster.'* London Times Literary Supplement, November 17, 1921, p. 751.

Q₁ (1620) is a careless translation of a genuine playhouse copy of the drama and represents the original text of the play as written by Fletcher, assisted by "some journeyman playwright" (the latter being responsible for the unsatisfactory beginning and end) for some company of boy actors about 1608. Q₂ (1622) represents the revised version of the play by Beaumont after the ms. had been purchased by the King's Men on the collapse of the boy company.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Earliest Private Theatre Play.* London Times Literary Supplement, August 11, 1921, p. 514.

Argues, on rather fragile evidence, that *Warres of Cyrus* was written about 1578 by Richard Farrant and acted at the early Blackfriars, thus antedating *Tamburlaine*.

Lawrence, W. J. *Notes on a Collection of Masque Music.* Music and Letters (London) for January, 1922.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Phallus on the Early English Stage.* Psyche and Eros, Vol. II (May-June, 1921), 161-165.

On evidence of engraved title page of Middleton and Rowley's *World Tost at Tennis*, Lawrence argues that the stage devil wore a phallus.

Lawrence, W. J. *New Light on 'The Two Noble Kinsmen.'* London Times Literary Supplement, July 14, 1921, 450.

Argues that the quarto was printed from a revised prompt book of ca. 1626-28 and accordingly does not represent the original text. Play originally written by Fletcher and revised by Massinger.

Discussion by A. H. Cruickshank, *ibid.*, Aug. 11, who argues for Shakspeare as reviser; by H. Dugdale Sykes, *ibid.*, Aug. 18; by Cruickshank, *ibid.*, Aug. 25; by Lawrence, *ibid.*, Sept. 1.

- Le Boutillier, Mrs. Martin. *Bale's Kynge Johan and The Troublesome Raigne*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 55-57.
- Lee, Sir Sidney. *Shakespeare's Company on Tour*. London Times Literary Supplement, May 5, 1921, p. 291.
- Littlehale, H. and Greg, W. W. (editors). *The Welsh Ambassador*. Malone Society Reprints. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921.
- M., D. L. *The Witch of Edmonton*. Nation and the Athenaeum, xxix, 178-180.

Marlowe's Impiety:

- Boas, F. S. London Times Literary Supplement, June 2, 1921.
- Cole, A. J. G. " " " " July 14, 1921.
- Seaton, Ethel " " " " June 16, 1921.
- Medwall, Henry. *Fulgens and Lucres. A godely interlude of the disputacyon of noblenes. Compyled by Mayster Henry Medwall*. With an Introductory Note by Seymour de Ricci. New York. G. D. Smith, 1921.
- Mott, Lewis F. *Foreign Politics in an Old Play*. Modern Philology, xix, 65-71.

Concluding speech of *True Tragedy of Richard III* so full of allusions to foreign politics as to give the impression that author had been coached and had written passage to be spoken in presence of the Queen.

- Mustard, W. P. *Notes on Ben Jonson's Catiline*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 154-156.
- Rhodes, R. Crompton. *Shakespeare's Prompt-Books*. London Times Literary Supplement, July 1, 1921, July 28, 1921, Aug. 11, 1921, Sept. 1, 1921.
- Rhodes, R. Crompton. *The Stager of Shakespeare*. Birmingham, Cornish Brothers, 1921.

A discussion of staging of Shakspeare's plays, utilizing the articles listed above.

- Röhricht, Irmgard. *Frauenprobleme in der englischen Literature. Teil I. Das Idealbild der Frau bei Philip Massinger*. München, Piloty and Loehle, 1920.
- Rollins, Hyder E. *A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama*. Studies in Philology, xviii, 267-333.
- Sykes, H. Dugdale. *A Webster-Middleton Play: 'Anything for a Quiet Life'*. Notes and Queries, 12 Series, iv, 181-183, 202-204, 225-226.

- Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Massinger and Dekker's 'The Virgin Martyr.'* Notes and Queries, 12 Series, x, 61-65; 83-88.
- Thaler, Alwin. '*Bengemenes Johnsones Share.*' Modern Language Review, xvi, 61-65.
- Thaler, Alwin. *Was Richard Brome an Actor?* Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 88-91.
- Thaler, Alwin. *Thomas Goffe's Praeludium.* Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 337-341.
- Thimme, Margaret. *Marlowe's 'Jew of Malta.' Stil- und Echtheitsfragen.* Studien zur englischen Philologie. Hrsg. von Prof. Lorenz Morsbach. Halle, M. Niemeyer, 1921.
- Wager, W. *Enough is as Good as a Feast. A Comedy or Entertlude.* With an Introductory Note by Seymour de Ricci. New York. G. D. Smith, 1921.
- Wells, William. '*The Birth of Merlin.*' Modern Language Review, xvi, 129-137.

On basis of similarity of play to *Cupid's Revenge*, the author contends that *Birth of Merlin* was made over by Beaumont and Fletcher from an earlier version of *Cupid's Revenge* and brought out before the publication of that play.

- Zandvoort, R. W. *The Messenger in the Early English Drama.* English Studies, III, No. 4 (August, 1921).

III. SHAKSPERE

- Acheson, Arthur. *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London, 1586-1592.* Giving new light on the pre-Sonnet period; showing the inception of relations between Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton and displaying John Florio as Sir John Falstaff. Pp. 261. New York, Brentano's, 1920.

The writer begins his volume by explaining that Shakspeare's life from 1586 to 1592 has been veiled in obscurity in consequence of the neglect of historians and the disappearance of documents; but neither inconvenience has prevented the ingenious author from restoring with a vim the "lost years" in London. Dismissing as absurd the tradition that Shakspeare's exodus from Stratford was occasioned by the deer-stealing episode, Mr. Acheson is certain that the satire of Sir Thomas Lucy in *2 Henry IV* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* was due to a more recent incident—probably Sir Thomas's opposition to the application in 1596 for the Shakspeare coat-of-arms. Rejecting, too, the conjecture of Fleay and others that Shakspeare joined the Earl of Leicester's

Company on the occasion of its visit to Stratford in 1586 or 1587, he argues that from the beginning of the young poet's arrival in London he was a "servitor" or employee of the Burbages, with whom he was associated to the end. That Shakspeare ever held horses at the theatre as a livelihood is beyond belief, though it is highly probable that his first duties "consisted in taking charge of the stabling arrangements for the horses of the gentlemen and nobles who frequented the Theatre"—an occupation glanced at in the epithet "base groom" which appears in Robert Greene's over-worked allusion to the "onlie Shake-scene in the country." Shakspeare was never a member of Lord Leicester's company. After being connected with the Theatre from 1586-7 to 1588-9, where the Lord Admiral's and Lord Huhdson's players were performing as one company during that period, he did not accompany the actors who left Burbage and passed under the management of Alleyn and Henslowe but formed instead, some time between Christmas of 1590 and the Christmas of 1591, Lord Pembroke's company, "becoming its leader and also its chief producer of plays." It was for this company that he and Marlowe worked, thus arousing the jealousy of Greene and bringing down upon the head of the unclassical Shakspeare the wrath of a group of scholars—Greene, Nash, Chapman, Peele, Matthew Roydon, John Florio. Besides abusing him in his *Groatsworth of Wit* Greene caricatured him in the character of Mullidor in *Never too Late* (1590); Peele attacked him in his *Honor of the Garter* (1593); while Chapman in the same year pilloried him in a play, which six years later Marston revised under the title of *Histriomastix* as a means of combating the personal satire in *Troilus and Cressida* and Dekker and Chettle's *Agamemnon*. The drama of the Prodigal Son in *Histriomastix*, it may be noted, was aimed at Shakspeare's *Love's Labour's Won* (1592) reflecting Southampton's intimacy with John Florio and the beginning of the affair with Mrs. Davenant, the "Dark Lady" of the sonnets. Shakspeare made the acquaintance of the Earl of Southampton on the occasion of the Queen's progress to Cowdray and Lichfield House in August and September, 1591; and *Love's Labour's Lost* contains numerous echoes of Elizabeth's entertainment at Cowdray. Attention is called to the fact that on the fourth day of her visit the Queen dined at the Priory, where Lord Montague kept "bachelor's hall," and in the absence of Lady Montague his reception of Elizabeth was "no doubt accompanied by fantastic allegory—Lord Montague and his friends playing the parts of hermits, or philosophers in retreat, as in the case of the King of Navarre and his friends in *Love's Labour's Lost*." In this play Holofernes is Chapman while Armado is John Florio, who is also satirized as Parolles in *Love's Labour's Won*, the early form of *All's Well that Ends Well*.

This tutor of Italian to Southampton was especially objectionable to Shakspeare. Naturally should this be the case, for Florio, in addition to objecting to Shakspeare's historical plays, had seduced

"Rosalind" and revealed to Matthew Roydon the mix-up of Southampton and Shakspeare with the "Dark Lady," Roydon exploiting this information in his *Willobie his Avisa*. The poet retaliated by bringing Florio on the stage as Sir John Falstaff, the worthy knight bearing a "remarkable resemblance" to the character of the Italian scholar as "we find it *revealed between the lines* of his own literary production." The fact that Parolles and Falstaff are soldiers while Florio is a pedagogue is only an apparent difficulty, for the latter in 1592 underwent a "quasi-military experience," when Southampton took him to France and "quite likely" had him appointed to a captaincy "though probably not to a command." Just as Florio seduced "Rosalind" so did Falstaff get Doll Tearsheet with child. But after all, Mr. Acheson, as a foot-note informs us, is not certain that Florio was the seducer of "Rosalind." Let us go somewhat further into this point, for it is a beautiful example of the author's love for scandal and mania for inference. In discussing Florio's marriage (p. 160) he writes: "It is very unlikely, however, that two women named Rose should have come so intimately into Florio's life, and probable, when all the evidence is considered, that Rose Spicer, the 'dear wife Rose' mentioned in his will, was the 'Rosalind' of his youth, whom, it appears, he had seduced, and with whom he had evidently lived in concubinage in the intervening years; making tardy amends by marriage in 1617, only eight years before his death." On page 193 occurs the note: "While correcting proof sheets for this book I have found evidence that Florio was living in Oxford, and already married in 1585. The Register of St. Peter's in the Baylie in Oxford records the baptism of Joane Florio, daughter of John Florio, upon the 24th of September in that year."

His chief bit of evidence, however, for identifying the fat knight as Florio is not the fact that Falstaff seduced Doll Tearsheet. He says (p. 217): "In altering the play in 1598, and changing the name of Sir John Oldcastle to Sir John Falstaff, I am convinced that Shakespeare intentionally made his caricature of John Florio more transparent by choosing a name having the same initials as his, and furthermore, that in altering the historical name of *Fastolfe* to *Falstaff*, he intended to indicate Florio's relations with Southampton as a *false-staff*, a misleader of youth . . . That John Florio recognized Shakespeare's satire and personal intention in choosing a character with his own initials he shows within a month or two of this date in his 'Address to the Reader,' prefixed to his *Worlde of Wordes*. He accuses a person, whom he indicates under the initials 'H. S.' of having made a satirical use of his initials 'J. F.' It is evident that in using the letters 'H. S.' he is not giving the actual initials of his antagonist." The reason is given on page 219: "His abusive descriptions are given in Latin and Italian phrases commencing with the letters H and S. His reason for using the letter H no doubt being that *there is no W in either Italian or Latin, H being its nearest phonetic equivalent.*"

Mr. Acheson shows wide reading and an admirable fondness for his subject. Unfortunately his passion for conjecture and his belief that Mrs. Davenant was the "Dark Lady" have got him into numerous difficulties. In spite of some very serious defects the volume is a very interesting and stimulating one. It is to be hoped that in the forthcoming volume promised by Mr. Acheson he will refrain from too much inference.

Adams, Joseph Q. *A Norman Origin for Shakespeare*. Sewanee Review, XXIX, 386-391.

On the basis of the appearance of the name "William Shakeespee" in the Norman Great Rolls for the year 1195, the suggestion is offered that the ancestors of the dramatist came from Normandy, the form "Shakespeare" (cf. the early forms "Shakespie," "Shakespey," "Saxpey," etc.) being an anglicized form of "Shakeespee" (quick drawer of the sword).

Bayfield, Rev. M. A. *A Study of Shakespeare's Versification, with an Inquiry into the Trustworthiness of the Early Texts*. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

Bayfield, Rev. M. A. *Shakespeare's Handwriting*. London Times Literary Supplement, June 30, 1921, p. 418.

Supporting Sir George Greenwood's contention that "Addition D" to *Sir Thomas More* is not in handwriting of Shakspeare. Cf. reply of Sir Maunde Thompeon, *ibid.*, August 4 (pp. 499-500) and Mr. Bayfield's rejoinder, *ibid.*, August 18 (p. 533).

Benham, Allen R. *A Note on the Comedy of Errors*. Modern Language Notes, XXXVI, 377-378.

Boas, F. S. *An Introduction to the Reading of Shakespeare*. London, Duckworth, 1921.

Brett-Smith, H. F. B. (ed.). *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. With Foreword by ———. Oxford, Blackwell, 1921.

Brooke, Stopford A. *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*. London, Constable, 1920.

Brooke, Stopford A. *On Ten More Plays of Shakespeare*. London, Constable, 1920.

Brooke, Tucker. *Shakespeare Apart*. Yale Review, x, 102-116.

Brown, Basil. *Law Sports at Gray's Inn (1594)*. Including Shakespeare's connection with the Inn's of Court, the origin of the *Capias Utegatum* re Coke and Bacon, Francis Bacon's connection with Warwickshire, together with a reprint of the *Gesta Grayorum*. Privately printed by the author. New York, 1921.

Canby, Henry Seidel (ed.). *The Tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra*. The Yale Shakespeare. Yale University Press, 1921.

Chapman, William Hall. *Shakespeare: The Personal Phase*. Privately printed by author, 1729 Hudson Avenue, Los Angeles, California, 1920.

A 403-page book by one of the "anti-Stratfordians" or "heretics."

Chapman, William Hall. *The Shakspeare Mortuary Malediction and the Seventeen-foot Grave*. Pp. 33. Privately printed by the author, 1729 Hudson Ave., Los Angeles, California, 1921.

This is a curiously written and carelessly printed pamphlet. The author, who is skeptical of anything advocated by "Stratfordians," a term he "kindly" employs to indicate those who believe that "Shakspeare" the player and "Shakespeare" the playwright are one and the same, argues that the late seventeenth century traditions are to be accepted and that "Shakspeare of Stratford" was not only the author of the "boorish curse cut on his chanced tombstone" but his neighbors actually "laid him full seventeen foot deep, deep enough to secure him." Such precautions, he insists, were taken to safeguard Shakspeare's remains from the fury of his townsmen, who were up in arms from 1614 to 1618 because "Shakspeare" and a few other "land-cribbers" sought to trample upon the rights of the populace. The "spook lines," then, instead of being composed as a means of frightening superstitious clerks and sextons, are a "criminating memorial of his attempt to gain possession of the Stratford Common fields."

Charlton, H. B. *Buckingham's Adaptation of 'Julius Cæsar' and a Note in the 'Spectator.'* Modern Language Review, xvi, 171-172.

Chevillon, André. *Trois Études de Littérature Anglaise*. Paris, Libraire Plon, 1921.

One of the studies is titled "Shakespeare et l'ame Anglaise."

Coad, Oral Sumner. *Shakespeare and Aeschylus*. Journal English and Germanic Philology, xx, 556-557.

Croce, Benedetto. *Ariosto, Shakespeare, and Corneille*. Translated by Douglas Ainslie. Holt, 1921.

Crosse, Gordon. *Shakespearean Mares'-Nests*. London Mercury for October, 1921. Reprinted in Living Age for November, 1921, pp. 512-19.

Dobell, P. G. *Some Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare and his Works not hitherto Collected*. London, Dobell, 1920.

Dutt, Smarajit. *Shakespeare's Macbeth: an Oriental Study*. Bengal, S. Dutt, Taki, 24, Parganas, 1921.

Eagle, R. L. *Shakespeare's The Tempest. An Interpretation and its Hidden Meaning*. London, Gay and Hancock, 1921.

Prospero is Bacon, etc.

Eagle, R. L. *New Light on Yorick*. London Times Literary Supplement, January 6, 1921.

Either a hoax or an appalling bit of ignorance. Yorick is John Heywood, the "Court Jester"!

Friedlander, Gerald. *Shakespeare and the Jew*. With an Introduction by Maurice Moscovitch. Pp. viii + 79. London, Routledge and Sons, 1921.

An amateurish discussion of "Shakespeare's greatest error," that is, the making of Shylock a Jew instead of a Christian. A brief account of the Jews during the Middle Ages (taken largely from Milman) is followed by an account (taken from Sir Sidney Lee) of the circumstances under which Shakspeare's play was presented, an extensive quotation from Robert Wilson's *Three Ladies of London*, a scattered discussion of Shakspeare's sources, and a long quotation from Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, which, the author rather naively remarks, enables "the reader to see how the genuine Jew thinks and acts." Mr. Friedlander's booklet contains nothing that is new.

Granger, Frank. *The Lyke Wake in Shakespeare's Tragedies*. London Times Literary Supplement, January 20, 1921 (p. 43) and February 24, 1921 (p. 126).

Gray, Henry David. *Some Indications that 'The Tempest' was Revised*. Studies in Philology, xviii, 129-140.

Greenwood, Sir George. *Shakespeare's Handwriting*. London, John Lane, 1920.

Believing that "Shakespeare" is a pen-name, he combats Sir Maunde Thompson's verdict that "Addition D" to *Sir Thomas More* is in the handwriting of the poet.

Greenwood, Sir George. *Shakespeare's Law*. Hartford, Conn., Mitchell, 1920.

Greenwood, Sir George. *Ben Jonson and Shakespeare*. Pp. 60. Hartford, Conn., Mitchell, 1921.

This is another "brief" prepared by a prolific "heretic" obsessed with the idea that "Shakspeare" the player and "Shakespeare" the

supreme genius must be distinguished. Sir George argues that Ben Jonson, who wrote not only the epigram "To the Reader" and the famous eulogy but also the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the 1623 Folio of Shakespeare's works, thoroughly understood that the name "Shakespeare" was merely a "mask-name" for other writers, one of whom was a transcendent genius; hence Jonson's eulogy of the "mask-name" is radically different from his attitude toward the player revealed in his epigram "On the Poet-Ape" and elsewhere.

The author possesses some information, which he conveniently perverts to fit his "case," and the ability, frequently found amongst gentlemen of the legal profession, to substitute rhetoric for argument. The present document possesses one virtue not always found in the outbursts of the "heretics"—brevity.

Hamlet and History. Leading article in London Times Literary Supplement, June 2, 1921 (pp. 345-46). Inspired by Miss Winstanley's *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession* listed below.

Hankiss, Jean. *Schelandre et Shakespeare.* Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 464-469.

Harris, Frank. *Shakespeare's Patriotism.* Living Age for December 10, 1921, pp. 657-59.

Hemingway, Samuel B. (ed.). *Henry IV, Part II.* The Yale Shakespeare. Yale University Press, 1921.

Herford, C. H. *The Normality of Shakespeare Illustrated in his Treatment of Love and Marriage.* English Association Pamphlet, No. 47, 1920.

Hirschberg, Julius. *Der Arzt bei Shakespeare.* Sonderabdruck aus der Berliner klin. Wochenschrift, 1921.

Hubbard, Frank G. *The First Quarto of Shakespeare's Hamlet.* University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Madison, 1920.

Jones, Howard Mumford. *The King in Hamlet.* University of Texas Bulletin: Comparative Literature Series No. 1. Pp. 100. Published by the University of Texas, Austin, 1918.

Although this study is dated November 20, 1918, it was, as the preface informs us, authorized for publication in April, 1921, and included in the 1918 series to conform with the postal requirements. Under the influence of the Werder theory and Professor Kittredge's declaration that *Hamlet* is "a family tragedy," Professor Jones, as Thomas Gilliland had done less vigorously as early as 1808 (cf. his *Dramatic Mirror*, II, 907-908), laments the neglect into which the rôle of Claudius has fallen on the modern stage and argues long and

eloquently that the King is, next to the Prince, the most important character in the play and a worthy opponent of the inexperienced Hamlet. Professor Jones stresses the warlike atmosphere at the beginning of the drama and argues that the realm of Denmark, largely as a result of the short-sighted policy and exhaustive wars of the old Hamlet—"a Scandinavian Hotspur, a fictional Henry V"—is tottering on the verge of calamity, from which it is saved only by the strength and diplomacy of Claudius. Hamlet's uncle is "an expert and finished diplomat," the "only hope of Denmark," an "excellent king," a "master, an adroit master of men," who murders his brother with a sense of his own superiority and a desire to save Denmark as part of the complex motive back of the act; he repents of his crime and "resolves to do penance for it by a life devoted to wise and good actions—he will be a sagacious ruler, a devoted husband, a careful and considerate father." But all these good intentions are frustrated partly by accident and partly by a blundering impetuous nemesis in the form of the unsophisticated Prince. This rash young man is spared by Claudius until it becomes necessary to sacrifice him for the good of the royal family and the Danish state. One is somewhat surprised to learn that Professor Jones admits that such a genius as Claudius is caught by Hamlet's "mouse-trap"; for Miss Ethelwyn L. Ferguson's interpretation (*Mod. Lang. Review*, October, 1919, pp. 370-79) of his conduct on the occasion of the play is more in keeping with the character of the Claudius whom Professor Jones would have us accept.

That the writer's main contention is sound very few serious students will deny, for most modern stage versions of the play have failed miserably in bringing out the craft and resourcefulness of Claudius. Very few, however, will, I believe, admit that Shakspeare intended him to be all the things advocated in the present study.

Professor Jones's essay is always stimulating and lively; it is better written than most present-day scholarly monographs are, even if some of the statements are objectionably extravagant; the treatment of certain details of the play,—for example, the justification of the hasty wedding of Gertrude—is exceptionally keen. On the other hand, the author's enthusiasm for his subject sometimes gives the impression that he is a special counsel for the defense who consequently fails to do justice to Hamlet and the Ghost; and, like most highly ingenious critics, he attaches too much importance to the commonplaces of Elizabethan drama and the minor inconsistencies and omissions to be found in practically all dramas of the time. When, for example, the author argues that Hamlet is a liar for calling his uncle an ill-looking person, and advances the point that "the general impression we have of Claudius is that of a stately and commanding figure, as ancestrally he should be," Professor Jones is practicing in a dangerous manner what he frankly admits to be necessary. Whereas we see and know Hamlet intimately, he confesses

(p. 99), "we have to guess what he [Claudius] is saying and thinking, from a lesser amount of detail, a less adequate fund of information." Again, when he argues (p. 30) that Claudius calls for his Swiss guard because he knows he cannot trust his Danish one, and insists (p. 60) that the King's utterance of the lines,

"There's such a divinity doth hedge a king,
That treason can but peep to what it would,"

is a "silly performance did not Claudius possess a commanding port and embody something of kingly divinity," he is not only guessing but attaching too much importance to Elizabethan commonplaces. And when he advances the opinion that Hamlet must be a liar for calling the King a drunkard and sensual fellow and follows it up with the argument that in this longest of Shakspeare's plays not a drunken man appears, while Claudius "does not kiss his wife," nor "fondle her," nor "pinch her cheek," nor "paddle in her neck," he is not only employing a very untrustworthy form of argument but forgetting that neither the scene of action nor the mood of the characters lend themselves to drunkardness and "paddling in the neck."

In a word, Professor Jones's study is always interesting and stimulating, sometimes brilliant; but at least every inexperienced student who reads it should follow his reading by a careful examination of the "Revenge Tragedies" and such productions as Professor Lewis's *The Genesis of Hamlet* or Professor Stoll's *Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study*.

Kenyon, John S. *A Note on Hamlet*. *Philological Quarterly*, 1, 71-73.

Kuhl, Ernest P. *Shakspeare's Purpose in Dropping Sly*. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvi, 321-329.

Law, Ernest. *Shakespeare's 'Tempest' as Originally Produced at Court*. London, Chatto and Windus, 1920.

Lawrence, W. J. *Shakespeare's Boards*. *New Statesman*, May 21, 1921, p. 188.

Lefranc, Abel. *Un Vocabulaire Shakespearien: Honorificabilitudinitatibus*. *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, 1921, pp. 137-138.

Leftwich, Ralph Winnington. *Shakespeare's Handwriting and Other Papers*. Worthing. Gazette Co., 1921.

Levey, Siviore. *The Source of 'The Tempest'*. Privately printed by author, 12 St. John's-Road, Putney, S. W., 1921.

Liebermann, F. *Shakespeare als Bearbeiter des King John*, I Teil. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 142 (N. S., 42), 177-202.

Lodge, O. W. F. *Shakespeare and Sir John Cheeke*. London Times Literary Supplement, March 10, 1921, p. 160.

Looney, J. T. *Shakespeare Identified in Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford*. London, Palmer and Hayward, 1920.

M., D. L. *The Problem of Pericles*. Nation and the Athenaeum, xxix, 298-300.

McCreary, W. H. *The Fourth Citizen in Julius Cæsar*. English Journal, x, 476-77.

Monaghan, James. *Falstaff and his Forebears*. Studies in Philology, xviii, 353-361.

Forebears are Derrick and Sir John Oldcastle in *Famous Victories of Henry V*, Tarlton's admirable acting of Derrick probably providing Shakspeare with suggestions.

Montgomery, Marshall. 'Cursed Hebena' as *Guaiacum officinale* (or *Lignum Vitae*) in *Shakespeare's Hamlet*, I, v. 62. Proceedings of Royal Society of Medicine, Vol. xiv (1921).

Murry, J. Middleton. *The Hyper-editing of Shakespeare*. The Nation and the Athenaeum, xxix, 510-511.

Review of "The New Shakespeare" edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. J. D. Wilson.

Murry, J. Middleton. *Shakespeare and Florio*. The Nation and the Athenaeum, xxix, 741-742.

Odell, George C. D. *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*. 2 vols. New York, Scribner, 1920.

Ord, Hubert. *Chaucer and the Rival Poet in Shakespeare's Sonnets*. London, Dent, 1921.

An attempt to show: (1) Shakspeare's sonnets contain numerous echoes of Chaucer; (2) the "rival poet" is Speght, whose conceit in his edition of Chaucer had annoyed Shakspeare.

Østerberg, V. *Studier over Hamlet-Teksterne*, I. Copenhagen. Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1920.

Parry, John. Review of Frederick J. Harries' *Shakespeare and the Welsh* (1919). Journal English and Germanic Philology, xx, 410-412.

Pollard, A. W. Review of N. T. Price's *The Text of Henry V* (1921). Modern Language Review, xvi, 339-40.

Pollard, Alfred W. *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text*. Second Edition, 2

H. T.

Revised with an Introduction. Pp. xxviii + 110. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

This revised edition of Mr. Pollard's *Sandras Lectures*—which were delivered at the University of Cambridge in 1915, printed in successive numbers of *The Library* in 1916, and published in book form in 1917—is especially welcome to students of Elizabethan literature, not only because the first edition has for some time been out of print but because it is the first of a series of five studies by Messrs. Pollard and J. Dover Wilson to be printed under the general title of "Shakespeare Problems." The main purpose of the present volume is, as the author puts it, to establish the fact that the quarto editions of Shakspeare's plays are a "good deal closer to the original manuscripts from his pen than most of the text-builders have allowed"—a thesis not very successfully indicated by the slightly startling title of the book.

After an introduction of some twenty pages, in which he reviews the more important contributions of recent years to Shakspearean textual criticism, Mr. Pollard presents the reader with a sort of introductory chapter entitled "The Regulation of the Book Trade in the Sixteenth Century." The discussion, which is necessarily very brief and general, points out that authors, in consequence of the precautions taken by the Crown to protect the printers who had received "grants of privilege" and on account of the increasing power and dignity of the Stationers' Company, were more adequately protected against piracy than is usually supposed. He gives a brief history of the Stationers' Company, points out that the organization really exercised licencing authority from the time of the granting of its charter in 1557, and that its methods of conducting business not only protected authors but encouraged them as well.

The second chapter, "Authors, Players, and Pirates in Shakespeare's Day," argues that, whereas the excessive number of printers in London and the system of patronage in vogue at the time encouraged piracy, still the practice of appropriating literary property by unscrupulous printers was largely confined to the works of dead authors and men whose pride and rank forbade their going to law over such matters as the rights of authorship. Mr. Pollard shows the improbability of various theories that have been advanced to explain the unauthorized publication of Shakspeare's plays; and, while granting that some four or five of his dramas were surely pirated, contends that the majority of the quartos were honestly printed from copy purchased from the players themselves. In view of the facts that the Stationers' Company was careful about upholding its rights and none of the admittedly surreptitious quartos were entered on the Register of the company, he submits the interesting probability that an entry on the Stationers' Register is good *prima facie* evidence that the play so entered was honestly secured from the players.

In the chapter titled "The Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Plays" Mr. Pollard attempts what he frankly admits to be the very difficult and dangerous task of giving the usual process taken by a play from the time it left the author's hand until its appearance in the First Folio. He emphasizes particularly the point that the First Quarto editions of some of Shakspeare's plays may have been set up from the author's own autograph manuscript. The final chapter—"The Improvers of Shakespeare"—is surely the most interesting, if not the most valuable, discussion in the volume; and it should be studied intensively by every student who contemplates editing an Elizabethan text. The mistakes in the methods of earlier editors of Shakspeare are indicated and two very vital and fundamental principles of bibliography are set before the reader: (1) only the First Quarto and First Folio editions of Shakspeare's plays are of significance in attempting to ascertain what Shakspeare actually wrote: (2) the First Folio, at least for some of the plays, must be regarded as an *edited* text. Interesting, too, is the tribute paid to Edmund Malone, whom the further one goes in the study of Elizabethan drama the more readily one admits to be the greatest of all students of Shakspeare.

It is to be regretted that in such a valuable and suggestive book Mr. Pollard, who has elsewhere shown such sanity and common-sense, should have apparently forgotten what he too modestly insists on calling the humble duties of the bibliographer, and, under the influence of Mr. Percy Simpson's theory of Shaksperian punctuation, becomes for the moment a critic of oratory and acting. It may fall within the province of a bibliographer to attempt to dangle before his readers "the hope that in some of those much vilified texts there may yet survive evidence of how Shakspeare meant some of his great speeches to be delivered"; but until we know more about the vagaries of Elizabethan punctuation than Mr. Simpson has told us, may we be pardoned if we suspect that Mr. Pollard, in spite of his enormous knowledge of bibliography and his usual conservatism and common-sense, has, like so many of his predecessors, been tempted into over-ingeniousness by his veneration for the Master. At any rate, to the ordinary plodder of the twentieth century it takes considerable effort and some imagination to convert the "supra-grammatical stops" of Elizabethan quartos into sobes and caresses, even if Shakspeare had no trouble in making the ordinary Elizabethan actor comprehend the subtleties of his punctuation.

Price, Hereward T. *The Text of Henry V.* Newcastle-under-Lynne, Mandley and Unett, 1921.

Purves, John. *Shakespeare—the English Aeschylus.* Modern Language Review, xvii, 73-74.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur and Wilson, J. Dover (eds.). *The Tempest, The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Two Gentlemen of Verona.* "The New Shakespeare." Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Raven, Anton A. *A Note on King Lear*. Modern Language Notes, xxxvi, 187.

Rea, John D. *A Note on Romeo and Juliet, II, i, 1-2*. Modern Philology, xviii, 675-76.

Robertson, J. M. *The Masque in 'The Tempest.'* London Times Literary Supplement, March 31, 1921, pp. 211-212.

Robertson, J. M. *The Problem of "Hamlet."* Pp. 90. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920.

An American edition of Mr. Robertson's suggestive "source study," printed in England in 1919, ought to be welcome to students in this country. With other eminent Shakspeareans of our own generation, Mr. Robertson represents a reaction against the "romantic" interpretation of Shakspeare and seeks to approach *Hamlet* from an historical point of view. He advances the attractive theory—essentially the theory advanced by such scholars as Boas, Lewis, and Stoll—that the "problem" of *Hamlet* is due to modern philosophizing and Shakspeare's failure to reconcile the impossible situation which he inherited from older material. After reviewing briefly the various theories about Hamlet's hesitation—a résumé in which Lewis's *The Genesis of Hamlet* is strangely enough not mentioned—he discusses the relationship between Shakspeare's and Kyd's versions of the Hamlet-story and the relation between Kyd's play and Belleforest, advancing the rather dangerous suggestion that Kyd's *Hamlet* was in two parts. In undertaking to adapt this old play "for his company, in the way of business," Shakspeare was confronted by a practically impossible task. He was compelled to retain the old machinery of the piece—ghost, hesitation, feigned madness, etc.—and at the same time to refine the character of the Prince. "But the revenge of the refined Hamlet must be delayed as was that of the barbaric Hamlet, without the original reason," that is, the inability to get at the King. To motive this hesitation Shakspeare injects into the Prince "implicit pessimism," but it is insufficient. "The fact remains that he has not merely been explicit—as he could not be—he has left standing matter which conflicts with the solution of pessimism . . . and the ultimate fact is that Shakspeare *could not* make a psychologically or otherwise consistent play out of a plot which retained a strictly barbaric action while the hero was transformed into a supersubtle Elizabethan."

Rhodes, R. Compton. *The Arrangement of the First Folio*. London Times Literary Supplement, December 29, 1921, p. 875.

Cf. discussion by W. J. Lawrence, *ibid.*, January 12, 1922, p. 28.

Rolland, Romain. *Die Wahrheit in dem Werke Shakespeares*. Berlin, Paul Cassirer, 1920.

- Routh, H. V. Review of Schücking's *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare* (1919). *Modern Language Review*, xvi, 78-87.
- Schaubert, Else von. *Drayton's Anteil an Heinrich VI, 2 und 3 Teil*. Köthen, O. Schulze, 1921.
- Scott and Shakespeare*. Leading article in *London Times Literary Supplement*, July 7, 1921, pp. 425-26. Cf. discussion, *ibid.*, July 21 (p. 468) and September 15 (p. 596).
- Shakespeare and Love*. Leading article in *London Times Literary Supplement*, October 13, 1921, pp. 649-50.
- Shakespeare: a Standard Text*.
- Poel, William. *London Times Literary Supplement*, February 3, April 14, 1921, January 26, 1922.
- Shaw, Bernard. *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 17, 1921, March 31, 1921.
- Pollard, A. W. *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 24, April 7, 1921.
- Cf. also discussion by Henry David Gray and others, *ibid.*, February 10, February 17, April 21, July 14, 1921.
- Shakespeare's Cheese-Loving Welshman*.
- Wallace, R. Hedger, *Notes and Queries*, 12 Series, ix, 110.
- Bensly, Edward, *ibid.*, 196-197.
- Sykes, H. Dugdale, *ibid.*, 234.
- Bridge, Joseph T., *ibid.*, 254-255.
- Row, Prescott, *ibid.*, 335.
- Wainewright, John B., *ibid.*, 498.
- Shakespeare and the Davenants*. Discussion by William Poel, Arthur Acheson and others in *London Times Literary Supplement*, May 9, June 2, June 16, June 23, June 30, July 28, 1921.
- Smith, Preserved. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvi, 374.
- Sonnenschein, E. A. *Shakespeare's Knowledge of Latin*. *London Times Literary Supplement*, March 17, 1921, pp. 179-180. Discussion by Mrs. Charlotte C. Stopes (*ibid.*, March 24) and John Sargeaunt (*ibid.*, April 7).
- Spielmann, M. H. *Shakespeare's Ghost*. *London Times Literary Supplement*, October 27, 1921.

Spielmann, M. H. *Shakespeare Treads the Boards*. London Times Literary Supplement, December 1, 1921 and February 2, 1922.

List of the various plays in which the dramatist is introduced as one of the *dramatis personae*.

Still, Colin. *Shakespeare's Mystery Play. A Study of 'The Tempest.'* London, Cecil Palmer, 1921.

Strong, John R. *Note upon the "Dark Lady" Series of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Pp. 197. New York, Putnam's, 1921.

In view of the universal delight in scandal it is not surprising that the world is still being pestered with gossip about the "Dark Lady" of Shakspeare, but it is a trifle strange that in these times of strain and industry when such picturesque figures as Sir William D'Avenant's mother, the goddess Fortune and a Southwark Moor have been paraded as candidates for Shakspeare's illicit love we should have an outbreak of the old feud between the Southamptonites and Pembrochians. In his present book Mr. Strong shows himself to be an ardent Pembrochian, who evidently regards with contempt the idea of Shakspeare's loving some one other than Mary Fytton. This lady, insists Mr. Strong, in spite of the testimony of the Arbury portraits and the arguments of the Southamptonites, is not only the "Dark Lady" of the sonnets but the original of Rosalind in *Love's Labour's Lost* and Cleopatra. Furthermore, Mr. Strong is a modest man, for in addition to admitting that his method of procedure is sometimes wrong and his identification of Shakspeare's love is not settled beyond dispute he calls his book of nearly two hundred pages a "Note."

This "Note" is composed of various chapters or sections. In the first the author handles briefly the circumstances under which the sonnets were printed; in the second he points out the similarity of Rosalind to the "Dark Lady" and reviews the career of Mary Fytton at court; in the third chapter, which reads like the diagnosis of a psychoanalysis expert, he explains that Shakspeare's "dark period" was partly due to his unfortunate love affair, and, among other interesting items, suggests that *All's Well* contains numerous open references to the doings of Southampton and Pembroke, Bertram in the play being a sort of composite of the two nobles in which Shakspeare expresses his resentment against the former for his injustice and desertion and his censure of the latter for his vicious behavior with Mary Fytton. We must not quarrel with the subtlety of some of Mr. Strong's inferences, for he admits (p. 64) that such subtlety is "carrying the theory a great way" and confesses (p. 65) that what he has been doing for a good many pages may be an excellent illustration of the customary weakness of reading one's own views into the works of the dramatist. In the section dealing with the so-called Arbury portraits of Mary Fytton Mr. Strong gets down

to business; and while it is unfortunate that he did not examine the actual portraits before passing on their genuineness, he has given some pretty strong reasons for thinking that the portraits representing Mary Fytton to be a blonde are really the pictures of some relation or friend of the family. He is inclined to accept the late F. J. Furnivall's view that they are portraits of Mildred Cooke, who later became Lady Maxey. Under "Miscellaneous Points" the author treats briefly, and rather unsatisfactorily, such details as Kempe's reference to a "Blackamoore" in the dedication of his "Nine daies Wonder" (1600) and the similarity in temperament between Shakspeare's Cleopatra and Pembroke's mistress. Concluding the volume is a section called "The Fytton Letters," which handles particularly the relationship between the elderly Sir William Knollys and the wayward object of his love.

As Mr. Strong realizes, he has done little to settle the problem of the "Dark Lady" series of sonnets. It is a pity that one who could handle the Arbury portraits as he does could not refrain from making numerous inferences which are deliciously absurd. It is this latter feature of the book which will be relished by only the more fortunate students possessed of a moderate leisure and a good digestion.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *The Authorship of 'The Taming of the Shrew,' 'The Famous Victories of Henry V' and the additions to Marlowe's 'Faustus.'* London, Chatto and Windus, 1920.

Tatlock, John S. P. Review of M. A. Bayfield's *A Study of Shakespeare's Versification* (1920). *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 168-169.

Tieck, Ludwig. *Buch über Shakespeare*. Edited by H. Lüdeke. Halle, Niemeyer, 1920.

Tolman, Albert H. *Shakespeare's Manipulation of his Sources in 'As You Like It.'* *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVII, 65-76.

Watson, Edward. *William Shakespeare and William Shaksper. Dual or Singular?* London, P. S. King, 1921.

A twelve-page attempt to show that they are dual.

Williams, Stanley T. *English Performances of Timon of Athens*. *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVI, 57-58.

Winstanley, Lilian. *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession. Being an examination of the relations of the play Hamlet to the Scottish Succession and the Essex Conspiracy*. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

There has been a distinct tendency during the last few years to revolt against the over-psychologizing of Shakespeare's characters by

his critics, after the manner of Coleridge and his followers, Dowden and Bradley. The most recent students of Shakespeare's work find the key to him in the history of his times; Mr. Gayley links *The Tempest* to the fortunes of the Virginia Company and its founders; Mr. Thorndike discovers the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on all their greater contemporary's late plays; Mr. Stoll believes Elizabethan stage convention accounts for most of what used to be called individualization in *Othello*, *Falstaff* and *Hamlet*; Mr. Robertson identifies the work of Chapman and of many another minor poet in the very text of the sacred canon. Now comes Miss Winstanley to prove that Shakespeare incorporated political interests and hints of characterization drawn from well-known public figures of the day into the whole play of *Hamlet*.

Discarding absolutely the eighteenth-century myth that Shakespeare was a mere child of nature, "warbling his native wood notes wild," together with the fallacy that makes him a modern psychological prober of character, Miss Winstanley insists that the poet was a man keenly alive to the interests of his audience, eagerly partisan in politics, siding with Lord Southampton's friend, the Earl of Essex in opposition to the Cecils and in support of James of Scotland, and she believes further that he used his plays not as propaganda but as vehicles for expressing in more or less allusive fashion his views of the leading personages of the court. She states her conclusion that it is "practically impossible" to explain the perplexing contradictions in the play "if it is to be interpreted as psychology; but if it is to be interpreted as mainly historical they are simple enough" (p. 161).

Before explaining what she means by the historical elements in the play she bases her appeal for a hearing on certain well-recognized facts, such as the political use of the stage at the time, the prosecution of the Lord Chamberlain's Company for acting *Richard II* during the Essex "treason," and the difficulties Dr. Haywarde fell into after the publication of his *Life of Henry IV*. Proceeding from this quite solid foundation to the much more dangerous ground of parallel drawing, she traces inductively and supposititiously likenesses of situations and characters in *Hamlet* to some of the situations and characters best known and most interesting to the London public of 1600-1603. She finds the play differs from its source in particulars which are striking because they suggest actual matters of fact present in the minds of the spectators of its early performances. These matters are: Mary's supposed murder of Darnley through unsuccessful poison and Bothwell's successful violence, the generally believed "walking" of Darnley's ghost, the pictures of the murdered man with his infant son praying for vengeance, which formed part of the propaganda against Mary, and finally the character of the hero himself, which in its vacillation, its scholarliness, its unwillingness to shed blood, resembles James Stuart, the pardoner of his father's slayer, while in

its occasional impetuosity, its melancholy and its charm, it resembles Essex, the darling of the English people.

George Brandes, in his *William Shakespeare. A Critical Study* (London, 1902, pp. 347-8), has already discussed this theory, which was not new when he wrote his book, and has dismissed it from serious consideration in these words:

"Although there is in all this no lack of parallels to Hamlet's circumstances, it is, of course, as ridiculous to take James as to take Essex for the actual model of Hamlet. Nothing could at that time have been stupider or more tactless than to remind the heir-presumptive to the throne, or the new King, of the deplorable circumstances of his early history. This does not exclude the supposition, however, that contemporary history supplied Shakespeare with certain outward elements, which in the moment of conception, contributed to the picture bodied forth by the creative energy of his genius."

There is, however, much interesting contemporary material quoted in the course of the argument, material that must often be reviewed by any student of Shakespeare's work, yet the manner of its use here is far from convincing. It is true that, as Miss Winstanley says, "the Essex conspiracy and the Scottish succession were *the* burning questions of the day," and that Shakespeare through Southampton was probably interested in both; it is also credible that he may often have followed the method of Spenser and of Lyly in giving a contemporary color to the old material he reworked,—there is no denying the plausibility of the identification of Polonius with Burleigh, suggested long ago, but why combine it, as is here done, with other less likely parallels? To Shakespeare's mind, so much clearer sighted or at least more concrete than Spenser's, a character reflecting in one person both Essex and James of Scotland would have seemed as absurd as it does to a modern reader; even more absurd the combining in one figure, Polonius, Lord Burleigh and Rizzio, who was slain in his queen's chamber. Such wrenching of probability in the search for originals to dramatic creations resembles too much for credence Mr. Frank Harris's romantic fancies about the Dark Lady who blighted Shakespeare's life with her powerful charm.

The figure of King James in relation to *Measure for Measure* and to *The Tempest* has already been studied. Essex too has been found to be reflected in *Henry V* and in *Julius Cæsar*. Both men no doubt deserve further discriminating investigation by readers of Elizabethan literature. But it must be disinterested investigation, unhampered by a theory too firmly held to permit criticism and destruction in the interests of probability and truth.

WINIFRED SMITH.

Wolffhardt, Elizabeth. *Shakespeare und das Griechentum*. Berlin Dissertation. Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1920.

IV. NON-DRAMATIC WORKS

Belden, H. M. Review of Hyder E. Rollins' *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625*. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvi, 300-303.

Brett-Smith, H. F. B. (ed.). *Nymphidia: the Court of Fayrie*. By Michael Drayton. Oxford, Blackwell, 1921.

Burton's 'Anatomy.' Leading article in *London Times Literary Supplement*, April 28, 1921, pp. 265-266.

Craig, Hardin. Reviews of F. M. Padelford's *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (1920) and John M. Berdan's *Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547* (1920). *Philological Quarterly*, i, 74-76, 79-80.

Dunn, S. G. *The Authorship of Polydoron*. *London Times Literary Supplement*, July 7, 1921, p. 436.

Argument that book is by John Donne the Younger.

Fellowes, Edmund Horace. *The English Madrigal Composers*. Oxford University Press, 1921.

Goode, Clement Tyson. *Sir Thomas Elyot's Titus and Gysippus*. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxvii, 1-11.

As a basis for his story in the *Booke of the Governour* Elyot used, neither the versions of Boccaccio nor Philip Beroaldo, but the *exemplum* of Petrus Alphonsus (-i) 'in his *Disciplina Clericalis*.

Grierson, Herbert J. C. *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921.

Herrick, Robert. *The Poetical Works of*. Edited with prefatory note by Percy Simpson. London, Milford, 1921.

Lyon, John Henry Hobart. *A Study of the Newe Metamorphosis, written by J. M. Gent, 1600*. Columbia University Press, 1920.

Contains sufficient reason for assigning work to Gervase (Jervase) Markham.

Holmes, Mabel Dodge. *The Poet as Philosopher. A Study of Three Philosophical Poems: Nosce Teipsum; The Essay on Man; In Memoriam*. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, 1921.

Ingersleben, I. von. *Das elizabethanische Ideal der Ehefrau bei Overbury*. Cöthen, Schulze, 1921.

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Goddard's volume contains 102 epigrams, which are divided into three sections, preceded by short poems titled "To the Reader" and "The Commission." Like most epigrams of the period, Goddard's are rather indecent and somewhat vicious. The author is careful to point out that he intends to "make the whole world smart," his mistress excepted. Other women he does not spare, the third section of his book being devoted almost entirely to them.

Goddard is not very complimentary to the Dutch; and amongst the people of England he "stings" particularly the Catholic priests, parish parsons, actors, lawyers, "roaring boys," and merchants. Being a soldier himself, his epigrams are sometimes very complimentary to the men-of-arms. As poetry Goddard's epigrams do not rank high, but they are of considerable value for the light they throw on the life and manners of the early seventeenth century.

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Mr. Einstein draws upon chronicles, letters, and literature for his illustrations. He has grasped more fully than many writers the importance of literature as a means for understanding the spirit of an age. His illustrations from *belles lettres* are not separated from the historical documents but are interwoven with them. Thus he avoids the fault of the historian who attaches a chapter on literature to his discussion of more weighty matters and the fault of the literary critic who discourses on literature without reference to social and political conditions that one must understand in order to read literature rightly. In this respect the book deserves high praise for its method, whatever opinion we may have as to the adequacy with which the method has been applied.

But the very number of the essays treated in a comparatively small book renders adequate treatment impossible. Thus, there are but four pages on "The Modern Spirit," allowing space for only brief mention of such men as More, Sidney and Languet, Spenser and Harvey. Bacon is disposed of in six lines, though other aspects of his work are given brief mention elsewhere. Only four lines are given to "histories written in a critical spirit," and these histories are not

even named. Again, only three pages are given to "Ideas of Fame," a treatment obviously inadequate if we compare Oliver Elton's learned essay on the subject. Many of Mr. Einstein's subjects are unhackneyed, such as "The Feeling for Nature," but here as elsewhere he gives us no thorough treatment, not even an organized introduction, merely bunches of notes apparently transcribed from his index cards. The chapter on "Philosophical Ideas in Life" is given eight pages, but Hooker is not mentioned in it; he strangely regards Bacon as not typical of his age; and he treats Bryskett, a mere translator, with greater seriousness. There are a few lines about experimental science as illustrated by Harvey and Gilbert, and he disposes of Platonism, medieval science, and superstition with equal jauntiness. These illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely. The book produces the impression of being merely a transcript of the card index made by a man of wide reading who has not yet brought his reading at any point to a definite conclusion. He has not taken the pains to analyze his facts; he cannot plead that he wishes merely to set forth the facts and leave conclusions to the reader, since his illustrations under any given subject are little more than topics or references, by no means complete.

Over against this adverse criticism must be set the facts that Mr. Einstein has given us a considerable number of chapter headings on which further research may be done with profit; and that his book is an excellent hand-book for the beginner who wishes to get in brief compass a glimpse of the many-sided intellectual interests of the Tudor period.

E. G.

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HEROD IN THE DRAMA

BY J. B. FLETCHER

I was led to read some of the dramatic accounts of the domestic infelicities of Herod first, because browsing among writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, I had come across Hans Sachs' quaint old play on the subject, then on Lodovico Dolce's Senecan tragedy, then on Calderon's "cloak-and-sword" adaptation, then on Sampson and Markham's "tragedy of blood," then on Alexandre Hardy's tragi-comedy, then on Philip Massinger's version under Italian names in the "Duke of Milan." Then I began to wonder how many more there might be.

In the second place, while I was still wondering—and hunting, Stephen Phillips's *Herod* appeared. Together with Rostand's *Cyrano*, Phillips's play made quite a furore. The drama in verse seemed to have really come back.

Appearing nearly at the same time, the *Cyrano de Bergerac* and the *Herod* formed an interesting contrast both in theme and in treatment. In the *Cyrano*, love is shown rising almost fantastically superior to jealousy; in the *Herod*, jealousy most brutally tramples on love. In keeping with his romantic theme, Rostand embroidered in nearly every device of romance—mistaken identities, heroically unequal combats, mysterious midnight meetings, "disastrous chances," "moving accidents by flood and field," "hair-breadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach." And Rostand's style was as variegated, as capricious, as startling as his matter. And to cap the Gothic fantasy, there was the gargoyle Nose! In Phillips's piece, on the contrary, all was prim, pruned, precise, classic; the complex personal equation of his hero was reduced to its lowest terms; no character, no episode, no scene, no line but subserved, and of necessity, the logical catastrophe. His verse and vocabulary strained after the same severe simplicity. Rostand took us back to Victor Hugo; Phillips to Voltaire.

There was another difference between the literary performances which happened at the moment to interest me. Rostand had discovered the dramatic *Cyrano*; his creation was unique. Phillips had to differentiate his hero from many previous dramatic por-

traits, of which the first—and by no means least dramatic—was that painted by the historian of the Jews, Josephus himself. After him there had been, as I had by this time counted, fully twenty-five plays about Herod.¹

The dramatic possibilities of Herod's story are indeed rich. Phillips himself has been quoted somewhere as saying that the story is the most dramatic in history. More than this, not only is the motive of a great tragedy embedded in the brief narrative of Josephus, but, as the editor of Tristan l'Hermite's *Marians* pointed out early in the seventeenth century, Josephus also provides all the *dramatis personae*, and prescribes the conduct of the action "selon les règles les plus étroites d'Aristote et du bon sens." Yet for some reason the theme has not proved a very lucky one for those who essayed it. Even Voltaire at the height of his popularity, extracting and chiselling this tragedy already rough-hewn by Josephus, failed to please even his own peculiar public. Friedrich Hebbel, in Germany, staked his dramatic reputation on his very special rendering of the story; and his play was laughed off the stage. Lodovico Dolce was in general a successful playwright; Symonds thought his *Marianna* the one Cinquecento tragedy "in which a glimmer of dramatic light is visible;" Dolce's play observed the strictest Senecan requirements; it was lavishly staged in Venice in the palace of the Duke of Ferrara, where they managed those things well; yet, as the author laments in his preface, the piece fell flat. Phillips's piece had indeed its moment of glory; but the one real hit appears to have been made by Calderon, and his play to-day would still make a hit, if put—where it belongs—in the movies.

Precisely because Herod's story, though richly tragic, seems also to be somehow rather unmanageable for the dramatist, comparative study of it is repaying. Dramatists have tried to put it into all the moulds of drama. They have made all kinds of people out of the historical personages named and described by Josephus. They have twisted the plot every which way, and have intertwisted it with other plots, sometimes taken from Herod's other misadventures, sometimes invented. To observe their results, is a very good way

¹ A monograph by Marcus Landau (*Zeitschrift f. Vergleichenden Litt.*, VIII, 1894) also helped. I have drawn upon his analyses of plays that I was unable to get at.

to realize in effect the methods of the various historical schools of drama; for since the matter is one in common, the treatments in their differences stand out. I cannot undertake, indeed, any systematic or thorough discussion on dramaturgical lines. Neither space nor my own competence permits. I shall give only a few random reflections from my reading.

There is not one story of Herod, but several. The dramatists used them all, either separately or together. There is the biblical Herod, persecutor of Christ, slaughterer of the Innocents, who figures in many a "mystery" play. There is Herod, the man of destiny, another Tamburlaine, wading through blood to supreme power—evident opportunity for a dramatic study in Marlowe's vein of magnificent, briefly successful, and then tragically punished Egotism; or, if the gory means are stressed instead of the superb ends, fit theme for an Elizabethan "tragedy of blood." Again, there is a still vaster conception of Herod,—product of metaphysical Germany,—according to which Herod figures as a great Symbol in world-history, the incarnation of Judaism triumphant allied with Paganism triumphant, as incarnate in Cæsar Augustus, both arrayed but in vain against Christianity nascent. This symbolism is predominant in Hebbel's piece; it is pervasively implied in Phillips's.

Obviously, in such dramatic treatment of Herod, the motif of his marital jealousy may well recede into the background, or even disappear altogether. The "mystery" plays know it not. Hans Sachs uses it only to adorn his moral tale by the way. His five-act "chronicle play" of 1552 is the first to dramatize the Herod of Josephus as distinct from the Biblical Herod. It moralizes the consequences of Herod's egotism, first in the judicial murder of his wife at the end of the second act, then in the successive executions of his several sons. Precisely Sachs's proportions are observed in an English "tragedy of blood," written by William Sampson and Gervase Markham, and acted in 1622. Their title indicates the dual motive: *The true tragedy of Herod and Antipater, with the death of the faire Marriam*. As in Sachs's piece, Mariamne is killed off in two acts; the last three deal with Herod's troubles as a father. Four generations appear on the stage,—or five, if we count the numerous ghosts of the fifth act as a re-generation. The main point of the play seems to be a competition in family murder

between father and son. Herod is given a start of two, for before the curtain goes up, he has already killed his wife Mariamne's father and grandfather. At the end of the fourth act, however, Antipater is only one behind, having since the curtain rose, compassed the deaths of Mariamne herself, her mother, her brother, and her alleged paramour. Herod meanwhile has added to his list Mariamne's two sons and his own sister. In the fifth act, however, Herod kills Antipater, and then himself; and so wins. When the curtain falls, all the principal characters are dead; but they are still conscientiously carrying on—as ghosts.

Besides Sachs and Sampson-Markham, the only dramatist to combine both motifs of Herod's nemesis,—his reversal of fortune as husband and as father,—is the modern German lyric poet, Friedrich Rückert; who so makes a cycle entitled *Herodes der Grösse*, in two plays, *Herodes and Mariamne* and *Herodes und seine Söhne*. For the rest, in the great majority of cases, the judicial murder of Mariamne is made the central catastrophe. But even this motif is complicated in the account of the facts by Josephus, who seems to offer two kinds of explanation of Herod's act. On the one hand, Herod appears to have been moved by natural and human causes. A cumulation of circumstantial evidence of his wife's infidelity works havoc in the passionately jealous temper of the King. A tragedy developing this situation alone would be purely psychological in its interest,—a study of domestic jealousy like Shakspeare's *Othello*, for instance. Indeed, at least one later playwright borrowed color from Shakspeare to adorn his play of Herod. In 1694 appeared an "heroic drama" of the Drydenesque type. Its author, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, seems to have followed in the main Tristan l'Hermite's piece of 1636. In Boyle's finale, however, Herod comes to murder Mariamne sleeping, as Othello murders Desdemona. There is no hint of this in Josephus or in the other Herod dramas. Also in Calderon's *El Tetrarca*, just before Mariamne's death, her tire-women, undressing her, sing to her an old mournful song. We are reminded, as Ticknor says, of Desdemona singing her "Willow" song as she undresses on the fatal night. Again, as Desdemona defends her lord to the last, so Calderon's Mariamne defends Herod against Octavius, when the latter urges her to flee with him from her husband's violence.

The second motive of Herod's murderous act suggested by Josephus, if followed out, leads to a "drama of destiny." It seems to have been foretold of Herod that he would one day kill the thing he loved most. This motive is hinted at by Cypros, Herod's mother, in Phillips's piece:

Did not the great astrologer foretell:
 "Herod shall famous be o'er all the world,
 But he shall kill that thing which most he loves?"

Cypros, jealous of the influence of Mariamne over her son, is trying to turn against her daughter-in-law the prophecy once dreaded by Herod, but never thought of in connection with his idolized wife. Taken together with the more famous prophecy, because of which Herod slaughtered the Innocents,—the prophecy that a mysterious King of Peace was to depose him and to usurp his dynasty,—the astrologer's utterance deepens the shadow of mystical fate that hung over Herod. Phillips treats it as a storm-cloud distantly impending over the daylight foreground scene of his domestic and psychological tragedy. In the handling of the Spanish dramatist, Calderon, however, the actually effective cause of Mariamne's death is this working of Fate,—of Fate in the most crudely and amusingly literal sense. His Herod is jealous, to be sure; but he really kills his queen unintentionally and by merest accident—by a "fated" dagger. The dagger is the real culprit—or at any rate the diabolical power that controls it.

Calderon is the only one to make a fate-play in the full sense out of the Herod material. His piece also heads a very special group of Spanish plays on the subject. Besides stressing the motif of Fate, the Spanish group shape the material to the not very appropriate Spanish type of the "cloak-and-sword comedy." George Ticknor, in company with more than one patriotic Spanish critic, rates Calderon's piece very high, not only among Calderon's own dramas, but even in comparison with *Othello*. "Othello's jealousy," he says, "with which it (Herod's) is most readily compared, is of a lower kind, and appeals to grosser fears." It may be so; but the reader may judge presently for himself.

Most dramatists have adopted, or at least adapted, Herod's story as told by Josephus; Calderon treats Josephus, all history, with sovereign contempt. His boldest invention, indeed, is dramatically effective, and perhaps *might* have happened. Josephus tells that

Herod twice voluntarily put himself into the power of his enemies. The first time, he went personally to Antony, to clear himself of the charge of having murdered Aristobulus, high priest and too popular brother of Mariamne. The second time, he went to Octavius, to ingratiate himself with the victor at Actium. Now, as Josephus relates, on each of these occasions, Herod left behind secret instructions that if he did not return from his perilous enterprise, his queen, Mariamne, should be put to death. He had perhaps not unreasonable fears that his jealously-loved and beautiful lady might become the prey of the Roman, whether Antony or Octavius. There was the precedent of Cleopatra!

So, in a sense, Herod meant well. Unhappily, however, several things went wrong. The confidential agents, to whom Herod had entrusted the job of assassinating Mariamne in the event of his not returning, happened to be clandestine lovers of the queen; and each betrayed to her her royal husband's unkindly kind arrangement for safeguarding her honor. It appears that she, perversely enough, failed to appreciate the affectionate precaution; and when he did return, was more than cold to him. In the conjugal debate which followed, she betrayed her knowledge of the secret order. That was enough for the jealous king. He knew his agents, middle-aged and reliable men. One, Joseph by name, was his own uncle and brother-in-law; the other, one Sohemus, he had raised from an obscure soldier to be military governor of a province. The one possible motive either could have had for betraying his master's confidence was love, guilty love, for the lady concerned. So Herod, to make assurance doubly sure, had them both killed; and then himself killed Mariamne.

Now for dramatic purposes, neither of these two elderly gentlemen was a very eligible lover. There is bathos as well as unpleasantness in casting a lady's uncle-in-law as her paramour. It certainly lacks the romantic touch. Amelie Rives, in her rather hysterical *Herod and Mariamne*, published in 1888, is almost the only dramatist to cast Uncle Joseph as the one effective rival of Herod. And, although the highly benevolent disposition of her really 'chaste Joseph' accentuates the mad suspiciousness of Herod, the situation verges on the comic. Nor does she much mend matters by attributing such an uncommon bloodthirstiness to Herod himself, who, just after beheading poor Joseph, soliloquizes:

I said that I'd have blood,—I said so,—ay,
 But there is not enough in all the land
 To slake my humor's thirst. Oh that I were
 Another Pharoah, and another Moses
 Would turn the Nile to blood a second time,
 That I might swim through the encrimsoned waves!
 Oh that I were a thing of quenchless thirst,
 A vampire monstrous, flattened at the throat
 Of one vast body, which should be the flesh
 Incorporate of everything alive!

Manifestly, Miss Rives had been reading the Elizabethans; but, even so, her Herod's thirst is rather too Gargantuan.

Governor-General Sohemus, the other historically possible paramour, was, as I have said, a grizzled veteran. In these days of resolute realism, he might well enough serve. But the playwrights of the *Herod* theme who did use him, felt bound to explain away, or to do away with, his unromantic quality. Lodovico Dolce takes refuge in the reflection that feminine taste is notoriously capricious, even perverse. Moreover, Mariamne herself was not in her first bloom. The Counsellor in his play tries to persuade the jealous king that there could be no guilty love between such a middle-aged pair. As to Mariamne, he says,

Now passed and gone for her is the green age
 When love is wont to have in us most force.

Sohemus

Is somewhat pale of face, and fierce of eye.

and

As to age, he hurries to life's close.

Herod, however, is unconvinced. There is no fool like an old fool; and a woman, whose bloom is passing, is in the dangerous age.

Phillips passingly insinuates the same cynical paradox. Herod's mother, the Iago-like Cypress, answers her son's doubt that his beautiful queen could stoop to the low-born and elderly soldier:

Know, son, that women the most delicate,
 And most high-born, feed often on strange fancies.

Other playwrights, while accepting Sohemus, make him over to suit the case. Elijah Fenton, in his *Mariamne* of 1723, draws him as a masterful Machiavellian plotter for Herod's throne. He woos and wins like the hump-backed Gloucester in *Richard III*. Luigi

Scevola, in his excellent *Erode* of 1815, invents a bygone romance between him and Mariamne. They had been lovers in youth. Later, become queen, she recognizes in the now-famous governor-general her old flame, and accords him a private, but quite innocent, meeting. Herod, informed of it, misunderstands. The device,—which had been used by the Spaniard Lozano for Mariamne and Joseph,—is ingenious and appealing; but really saves the historical Sohemus only by making him somebody else. Voltaire pretends Sohemus to have been of Mariamne's own blood royal, and presents him as a subtle philosopher and lover Platonical. In fact, Voltaire's Sohemus is a terrible prig. Alexandre Hardy avoids all difficulties by having his Herod merely name Sohemus as co-respondent, and not letting Sohemus appear on the stage at all.

Calderon, however, will have none of these compromises and psychological subtleties. He wants a good practicable rival for Herod, of Herod's own size; and he finds him in—Octavius Cæsar. The daring is Marlowesque.

Having so fundamentally broken with fact, Calderon disdains history and geography altogether, and composes a piece which is a cross between an operatic libretto, a destiny-play, and a 'movie' melodrama.

Of the historical personages in the story, he keeps only Herod, Mariamne, and Octavius. Mariamne's brother, the young and popular priest Aristobulus, remains in name; but he is transformed into a midshipman in the Jewish fleet, which had been sent under Admiral Tolomeo to support Mark Antony at Actium.

The play opens with soft music to cheer up Mariene, as Mariamne is now called. Herod presently announces to her—and to the surprised courtiers—that he is about to make her empress of the world. Antony and Octavius must soon wear each other out. Then he, Herod, will strike.

But Mariene refuses to be comforted. At last she is induced to explain that a soothsayer has told her two dreadful things. She is to be killed by "the greatest monster in the world," *el mayor monstruo del mundo*. Also, her Herod is to slay, and with that very dagger he wears at his belt, the thing he loves best. Now isn't *she* the thing he loves best? Herod is loquaciously indignant. Is she seriously afraid he will turn out—a *monster*? As to the dagger—with a fine gesture, he throws it out of the window.

A scream is heard!

The window overlooks the sea-beach, where Admiral Tolemeo has just landed. The hurtling dagger has stuck in his back. Somewhat disquieted by this evidence of the dagger's malignity, Herod invites his wife to take charge of it herself. When she declines in terror, Herod shrugs and sticks it back in his belt.

The scene changes to Memphis, become—as Jerusalem also—a seaport. Aristobulus has been captured, bag and baggage. Octavius is personally overhauling the boy's kit; and in it finds letters incriminating Herod of his plot of world-conquest. Also, Octavius finds a miniature of Mariene. Everything else is forgotten, Herod's world-plot and all! But young Aristobulus, precociously prudent, remarks casually, that the original of the miniature is dead!

For a moment we go back to history. Herod is announced. He has come to make his peace with the victor of Actium. But as he enters Octavius's tent, he sees, pinned up on the inside, a life-sized portrait of his own wife. Octavius has had the miniature enlarged. Yet, not content with this one image of his idolatry, Octavius from time to time during the conversation, steals glances at the original miniature in his hand. This is quite too much for the jealous Jew, who, when Octavius turns his back, stabs at him. But at the very instant, Mariene's portrait, insecurely hung, drops between; and so is pierced by . . . the fated dagger!

Of course, Herod is put in prison. One day, his brother-in-law, Aristobulus, is announced as a visitor. But as soon as they are alone, the visitor strips off his disguise. He is not Aristobulus, but his faithful lackey, from whom Herod gets the agreeable news that Aristobulus, impersonating his lackey, has been released, and that Octavius believes the lady of the portrait dead. Herod's relief is diminished, however, when he also learns that Octavius's plan is to execute him, and then enter Jerusalem in triumph. At least, he will save Mariene's honor. He sends back home by the lackey an order to put her to death.

The written order is safely delivered to Admiral Tolomeo. But while he is reading it, his sweetheart happens in, and is furious when he will not tell her whom the letter is from. During their quarrel, Queen Mariene enters, sides against the Admiral, demands the letter, and reads . . . her own death-warrant.

Presently, the triumphant Cæsar calls upon her. For all her

indignation at the death-warrant, she is loyal, and begs for her husband's life. Cæsar is courteous, but obdurate, until . . . she happens to lift her veil. It is his lady of the portrait; and he is her servant in anything.

Although she has saved her husband's life, she has by no means forgiven him. When later he comes to her, all gratitude and love, she talks to him for 250 lines without stopping. In effect, she tells him that, but for her wifely loyalty, she would have been his widow, and because of his husbandly treatment, she *will* be, to all intents and purposes, his widow still. So saying, she rushes into her own room, slamming the door behind her. Turning the key on the outside, Herod philosophically remarks that indeed jealousy is "the greatest monster in the world."

Octavius's love, however, laughs at bolts and bars. He forces his way into her apartment, where the Queen is with her tire-women, singing dolorously of death. In desperate defence of her honor, Mariene snatches from Octavius's belt a dagger. It is *the* dagger, which he had taken long ago from Herod and tried to stab him in the tent. But instead of using the dagger on Octavius, Mariene rushes with it out into the night, and . . . into her husband's very arms.

Startled, she drops the ill-omened weapon. Herod gropes after her in the darkness. Octavius comes out, and gropes after her too. Presently, the two rivals become aware of each other's presence, and there results a complicated stalking-scene, in which Herod and Octavius are trying to get each other, both Mariene, and Mariene to get away from both. Finally, Herod, stumbling, drops his own dagger, and picks up by mistake the fated one, which Mariene had dropped. An instant later, colliding with her, and mistaking her for his rival, he stabs her, and so, fulfilling the oracle, ends the play.

I leave it to my reader whether this ingenious thriller surpasses the tragedy of *Othello*. Of course, Calderon was a poet; and in the piece there are eloquent declamatory and lyrically graceful passages; but the plot is a tangled farrago of sensational improbabilities, and the characters are as convincing as the puppets in a Punch-and-Judy show.

Calderon's piece is assigned to about 1635. In 1638, Tirso de Molina emulated him in *La Vida de Herodes*, and in 1658,

Christóbal Lozano in *Herodes Ascalonita y la hermosa Mariana*. I have not read these two plays, but from what Landau says of them, I should judge that their hero out-Heroded even Calderon's Herod. Tirso multiplies the portrait-motive. Cleopatra herself is enamored of a portrait of Aristobulus; Mark Antony is enamored of a portrait of Mariamne, or Mariadnes, as Tirso prefers to call her; Herod himself is enamored of the portrait of the "Infanta Mariadnes" seen by him in the picture-gallery of the King of Armenia. Tirso also anticipates later German handling by introducing at the close of his play the Three Magi, who came in to ask Herod who and where is this new-born child who is to be king of the Jews. Herod has already assassinated Mariadnes, and now, freshly jealous, issues the famous order for the Slaughter of the Innocents. And the curtain falls on a moving *tableau vivant* of the bloody king, seated, holding a slaughtered innocent in either hand. Tirso must have read Dante's description of Satan in Hell holding Judas, Brutus, and Cassius in his three mouths.

If Tirso develops Calderon's portrait-motive, Lozano pursues his idea of scenes in the dark. More than half his play is conducted, and in various stages of night-apparel. Trouble starts in the first act, in which Mariamne and her friend, Uncle Joseph, both frightened by bad dreams, rush, in extreme *deshabille*, into the street. Meeting, they are discussing the queer coincidence, when Joseph's wife—also for some reason in the street—comes upon them. One cannot altogether blame her for not being convinced by their explanations.

Tirso's final *tableau* is gruesome enough. But Lozano outdoes him. In Lozano's last scene, Herod is discovered at dinner. Everything on the table is spattered with blood,—food, linen, even the water in the finger-bowls! Joseph has already been murdered. From outside a shriek is heard. Herod orders a curtain to be drawn; which done, there is revealed Mariamne's headless trunk.

The Spanish interpreters of the story of Herod are disdainful of historical fact. The two modern German dramatists who essayed the theme are the opposite. Friedrich Rückert in his *Herodes der Grösse* of 1844, and Friedrich Hebbel in *Herodes and Mariamne* of 1858, are nothing if not truthful. They saturate their pieces with laboriously laid on oriental and archæological color,—Rückert especially. He inweaves into his plot every known or

guessed-at incident in Herod's life. A swarm of supernumeraries serve as living footnotes. It is a textbook of Semitics. In the close, sacred history is added to profane. The three kings come out of the East; the Shepherds appear from Bethlehem; angels sing "Glory to God in the highest!" It is a scenic show that Mr. Griffith of the movies would delight in.

Hebbel's play is a more serious matter. It is certainly good reading, though it failed in Hebbel's time on the stage. Hebbel was a subtle psychologist. His piece rivals Rückert's in archaeological episodes and appurtenances, but its stronger appeal is psychological. Also, he was a close student of Shakspeare. His effort is to bring out the characters of Herod and Mariamne, especially of Mariamne.

Most dramatists focus attention on Herod himself. Josephus presents Herod not altogether unsympathetically. According to him, Herod had good, even great qualities. His moral undoing was due to a jealousy pathological in its intensity. His passions were lava-like, burning hot, but hard as rock if chilled by suspicion. The type is a good one for tragedy if not overdone; but it generally has been overdone. Generally, he has been made to appear a monster rather than a man,—“the greatest monster in the world,” as Calderon said. Elijah Fenton tried to bring out his swift changes of temper, but Fenton was himself over-hurried by his obedience to the classic rule that a stage-action must cover only twelve hours. So his Herod is a sentimental gallant in the forenoon, a cold-blooded murderer at noon, a tearful penitent in the afternoon, dead of a broken heart in the evening. Voltaire draws him as the victim of his conflicting moods, like Hamlet, and as crying out in desperation:

Je veux, j'ordonne . . . Hélas! Dans mon funeste sort,
Je ne puis rien resoudre, et vais chercher la mort.

Others have emphasized the tragically pathetic side of Herod. I have not seen the piece of a certain Johann Christian Hallman of 1870, entitled *Die beleidigte Liebe, oder die grossmutige Mariamne*, but from a bit quoted by Landau, it ought to be tenderly moving. I translate the bit:

Bloom, Mariam, bloom! Thou horn of sweetest fruits!
Bloom, Mariam, bloom! Thy heavenly countenance,
May it wither nevermore! Bloom, Mariam, bloom!

This from Herod, after he had murdered her!

Throughout the variety of Herods, Mariamne is stereotyped in the main,—in the main, a plaintive, passive victim of circumstances. Calderon indeed, as we have seen, gives her a pretty temper. Amelie Rives, inspired perhaps by the entertaining row between Mariana and Marcella in Massinger's *Duke of Milan*, lets her Mariamne into actual fisticuffs with her pert sister-in-law, Salome. But usually she is colorless.

Hebbel goes to the opposite extreme. His Mariamne is, or aspires to be, infinite in her variety,—fond, austere, passionate, tender, remorseless, mad, metaphysical, resigned. She is Desdemona, Ophelia, Portia, Gretchen in one. Like the whole play, she is too complicated. We rather resent the excessive subtlety by which to gratify her revenge, or to end an impossible situation, she tricks her husband into killing her.

Hebbel's philosophical mind is by no means content with the merely domestic tragedy. Like Ibsen in *Caesar and Galilean*, like Calderon with romantic crudity in *El Tetrarca*, he makes of Herod a man-of-destiny in a larger, more symbolic sense. Herod, the soil-sprung paganizing plotter and usurper, he shows crushed between Hebraism represented in its social and religious conservatism by the caste-bound Alexandra and the intolerant Sameas, on the one side, and Christianity, represented by the three Magi seeking their promised Saviour, on the other side.

The seventeenth century Spaniards and the nineteenth century Germans agree at least in an effort to stage the Story of Herod in its richest complexity. Nearly all Italians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen who have dramatized the story have, on the other hand, tried to simplify it by sticking to one only of its ramifications. Nearly all have centred their plays on Herod's jealousy of Mariamne, and its tragic outcome. There are a round dozen of these plays; and, following them chronologically, one may trace accurately the so-called "classic" form of drama from the Renaissance-Senecan type of Dolce of 1565 to the composite Elizabethan and French classic piece of Phillips of 1900. All observe more or less punctiliously the dramatic unities. The central figure in the group is Voltaire, who in his *Mariamne* of 1724 refines upon the preceding French versions of Hardy and l'Hermite, and by his own version seems to have influenced all the later members of the group.

The Spaniards spoiled the story by losing it in a fantastically intricate and improbable web of incident and coincidence; the Germans by losing it in a maze of archaeological-psychological-symbolical subtleties. Voltaire himself expressed the opposite danger, when he said of Hardy's piece, that it reduced a great tragedy to a "querelle de ménage," a mere family scrap. And Voltaire himself did not escape the charge; for two of his critics parodied his *Mariamne*, a year after it appeared, in a rather indecent burlesque, entitled *Le Mauvais Ménage*.

A worse fault of Voltaire's *Mariamne* is frigidness. It is as correctly cold as Addison's *Cato*. But its correctness lies in the rhetorical, rather than the dramatic, field. When at the beginning of Act V *Mariamne* requests her guards to step aside so that she, their Queen, may for a moment "breathe without witnesses," and they do step aside, she proceeds to "breathe" a long and grandiloquent speech.

Voltaire, indeed, had more dramatic sense than his pseudo-classic audience would tolerate. In the first version of his play, in supposedly flagrant violation of Horace, he made *Mariamne* die of poison—*coram populo*, on the stage. As she lifted the poison-cup to her lips, some one in the pit shouted as if it were an obligatory toast: "The Queen drinks!" The house roared; and Voltaire had to go back to the safe, if tame, Messenger. Also, it was he who conceived Herod as quelling a mob by the majesty of his presence,—a situation effectively used by Stephen Phillips; only, Voltaire dares merely to have one of his character describe the achievement.

When they both appeared, Stephen Phillips's *Herod* stirred almost as favorable comment at Rostand's *Cyrano*. *Cyrano* has grown into a classic; *Herod* is, I should judge, nearly forgotten. There can be no doubt about the splendor of *Cyrano*; but *Herod*, I think, has some claim to remembrance. At least, of the long list of plays about Herod, it seems to me the most artistic, and not the least humanly moving. No doubt, it suffers from a certain mannered dryness of style. The characters all talk too much alike, too solemnly. One could wish that some one of them would let down a moment. Phillips believed in the "grand style" for tragedy,—nothing but the grand style.

By one shift, Phillips, to my taste, improves on all his prede-

cessors. Historically as well as dramatically speaking, the chief occasion of Herod's vindictive resentment against his wife was her disdainful coldness towards him. And her coldness, according to Josephus and after, was due to her discovery that Herod designed to have her immolated, at his own death, like an Indian widow. Historically, as we have seen, Herod gave such a death-warrant on two separate occasions, once to Joseph, the second time to Sohemus. By the dramatists, sometimes the one, sometimes the other death-warrant brought about the catastrophe. Hebbel, with characteristic subtlety, used both. Mariamne forgave Herod the first time, accepting his excuse of overmuch fondness. But a repetition of the cruelty was too much for her. There is nothing inherently absurd in Hebbel's idea; but his critics said that a doubled catastrophe violated all dramatic canons, and would have none of it.

There is, however, another objection to the death-warrant altogether. Mariamne's fear and loathing of Herod on account of it are altogether selfish. That is natural enough, but it is neither quite heroic nor pathetic. We cannot blame the lady, but neither can we take an emotionally deep interest in her situation. At any rate, the mere fact that she tries to get even by sulking, does not greatly move our sympathies. Phillips appears to have realized this weak spot in the story, and, without violating the historical facts, avoided it. For him, what raised the impassable barrier between the royal pair was the suspicious death of the boy Aristobulus, her brother, whom she loved with a mother's love. She says to him:

I am so wrapped in thee;
My love hath hovered round thee since they birth;
I have suffered like a mother in my dreams
For thee.

She suspects Herod of having done away with him. At last she extracts confession from the tool, Sohemus. This is the discovery that kills her love for Herod. Her death-warrant she discovers also, and it shocks her too, not however because she fears for herself, but because, seen in the light of the murdered boy, it is but another revelation of the brute in Herod. Otherwise, as she says, the death-warrant itself would have startled her even into admiration.

I might,
Have seen a grandeur in this thought,
Even magnificence of flattery,
Once, but not now. The dead boy makes him vile
In this thing as in all things. Was not this
The tiger's act? beast fury?

To my thinking, this is one of the most delicately felicitous innovations in the long line of experimentation in the story of Herod. I can only repeat that it is a pity that Phillips is probably too bookishly conscious in his manner to be quite convincing, yet in substance and dramatic treatment his play of *Herod* seems to me more nearly to realize the possibilities of the much-worked theme than any other. I expect, however, that so rich a tragic vein will be worked again.

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THE MORO EXPÓSITO AND SPANISH ROMANTICISM

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

In the *Revista española* for 1834 and 1835 there is a series of articles which cannot but interest in the highest degree all students of Spanish Romanticism. The first two of these, dated May 23 and 24, 1834, deal with Angel Saavedra's *Moro Expósito* and will form the subject of the present paper. Those dated March 25 and April 12, 1835, are concerned with *Don Álvaro*, which had been played for the first time on March 22 of that year. Both sets of articles are anonymous.¹

I

Azorín, in his *Rivas y Larra*,² discusses the second of these sets of articles and attributes it categorically to Larra. "El día 25 publicó la *Revista española* un folletón dedicado al estreno. No lleva firma; pero es de Larra. El estilo es de Larra; las citas son de Larra. En el folletón publicaba aquí Larra sus artículos."³ Against this view it may be urged: (1) that the article in question (25 March, 1835) is unsigned, whereas most of those by Figaro in this and other volumes are signed with the author's name or *nom de plume*; (2) that (no doubt for this reason) the article and that of April 12 are not included in any edition of Larra's works known to me; (3) that in the second of the two articles (12 April, 1835), which Azorín seems to have missed, the writer speaks of himself as having been on the closest terms of intimacy with Rivas—on closer terms than Larra is known to have been. Could Larra have truly said of *Don Álvaro*: "Le ví nacer y crecer, y en cuanto podía mi poquedad ayudé a su crecimiento, y tengo amor entrañable, amor casi paternal a la criatura,

¹ The *Revista Española* (1832-6) is not a very accessible review, but it may be consulted in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (Catalogue number 5/288). The volumes are, however, frequently mutilated, and some of the literary articles have been deliberately cut out.

² *Rivas y Larra,—Razón social del romanticismo en España* (Madrid, Renacimiento, 1916), pp. 80-3.

³ P. 80.

dimanado quizá del amor casi fraternal que me une con el padre.”? It is certain that these two articles are by the same writer, or at least claim to be, and the two articles on the *Moro Expósito* are sufficiently similar in their general character to have come from the same hand. In any case there seems to be no evidence on either side with respect to them which cannot also be applied to the articles of 1835. And as my object in writing this article is to consider the two notices of the *Moro Expósito* upon their own merits and independently of those of their author, I shall not expend further space upon considerations of authorship, but pass to the notices themselves.

II

If space permitted, it would probably be thought justifiable to reprint these two articles as they stand, together with a commentary, since they have not before been described and are by no means easily accessible to the student. It is possible, however, both to economise in space, and at the same time to bring out in some detail the most significant parts of the notices by omitting portions which are not particularly important.*

The review begins by a comparison between Saavedra and the young Polish poet Mickiewicz, who had, like Saavedra, been persecuted and exiled for his liberal views. Mickiewicz is “pre-eminent in the Romantic genre” and all now recognise his genius. And to this point too has the Spanish poet attained: “se ha lanzado en la carrera del *romanticismo*.”

The comparison causes the writer to reflect upon the differing characteristics of the Romanticism of various countries:

* El (*romanticismo*) de Mickiewicz se resiente del estado de su ánimo por la opresión de la Polonia. . . . Otro es ya el carácter romántico del famoso alemán Goethe, como otro es el del inglés lord Byron, diferente también del del francés Lamartine y aun más del de Victor Hugo, exagerado escritor en este género. Reinando pues tanta diversidad, casi deberá calificarse de romántico todo lo que no se someta a los preceptos de Horacio y de Boileau, o que no se arregle a los modelos que nos han transmitido los autores reconocidos por eminentemente clásicos.

What then, is Romanticism? is the author's question, and it is

* Throughout it may be assumed that the quotations are taken from the second of the articles (May 24), except those asterisked, which come from the earlier (May 23).

this question which gives his article its primary importance. There is no doubt but that Saavedra is to take his place at the head of a "Romantic" school. But this work,—this *Moro Expósito*—by virtue of which he takes this position, is it Romantic at all in the sense which has up to the present time been given to the word? It has a prologue⁵ in which the writer claims that the poem is neither classical nor romantic.⁶ Is he justified in saying this, or does the *Moro Expósito* contain so many avowedly romantic traits that it is entitled to the epithet "romantic"? This is the critic's judgment:

* Esta invasión (sc: romántica) sería realmente estrepitosa, si el Sr. de Saavedra llega a encontrar muchos sectarios y diremos ingenuamente nuestro sentir: al decir sus sectarios, juzgamos que más podrá ganarlos con los argumentos desenvueltos en el prólogo, que con los ejemplos suministrados en los doce romances de su leyenda, pues es preciso convenir en que esta no es una composición esencialmente romántica. Reinan en ella con frecuencia un buen sabor de nuestros mejores poetas, reminiscencias de sus giros, de sus imágenes, de sus galas, que tienen todo el brillo de imaginaciones orientales más bien que el sesgo metafísico, los conceptos nebulosos y las pinturas fantásticas de los que marchan por la senda del romanticismo exclusivo. Sin embargo, el Sr. de Saavedra en bastantes ocasiones, sino se eleva a todas las licencias románticas, rompe al menos una porción de los grillos impuestos, por lo que se entiende en sentido clásico por *buen gusto*. Alguna consideración le guarda todavía, cuando se contenta con dar a su obra el modesto título de *leyenda*, y cuando en vez de dividirla en cantos se reduce a hacerlo en *romances* la más atrevida de sus innovaciones está en el lenguaje y en el estilo. En varios episodios se detiene en hacer descripciones de sucesos y personas de un aspecto grotesco; y entonces no vacila en echar mano de palabras triviales para los que quieren que la poesía no degenera de su carácter noble y distintivo. Aquí caeríamos también en otra cuestión muy controvertida. La poesía cuando presenta escenas familiares y aun vulgares, ¿debe hacer que sus actores hablen un idioma ajeno de su condición y de la verdad? No debe buscar el efecto en

⁵ The prologue was the work of Antonio Alcalá Galiano, though it is not signed. It is in the main concerned with the question of classicism *versus* romanticism, but the concluding pages are devoted to an illuminating statement of the principal characteristics of the *Moro Expósito* viewed from the standpoint of the author.

⁶ To quote from the prologue: "Con decir esto, ha declarado el autor su intento al componer el siguiente poema. No ha pretendido hacerlo *clásico* ni *romántico*, divisiones arbitrarias en cuya existencia no cree, siendo claro, por lo mismo, que no se ha propuesto obedecer a los que las pregonan como ciertas y promulgan como obligatorias."

las copias exactas, más que en la inverosímil elegancia de una fraseología inadecuada? Este problema ya está resuelto por los críticos que no se dejan influir por un sistemático espíritu de partido. . . . El lance es saber cómo y cuando se han de decir las cosas; en manos de un escritor de ingenio, nada hay trivial: él sabe ennoblecerlo todo y producir el efecto que se proponen las artes de imaginación.

I have shown elsewhere,⁷ at greater length than it is possible to do here, how varying were the conceptions of Romanticism current in Spain before 1835, and how large a part was played in them by what would now be considered the exaggerations of Romanticism. Additional point is given to that fact by the passage just cited. The *Moro Expósito*, we are told, is not "essentially Romantic" because it lacks the "sesgo metafísico," the "conceptos nebulosos," the "pinturas fantásticas" of the "exclusive" Romanticists. One would have thought that the "pinturas" of the poem were at least "fantastic" enough for the critic, but no! He was evidently thinking of the type of work of which Mora had written fifteen years before: "¿Qué legión de espíritus tenebrosos se ha apoderado de los escritores de nuestros días? ¿qué sed de horrores atormenta sus desarregladas imaginaciones? Gracias a la literatura de los pueblos septentrionales, los personajes de los dramas y novelas son asesinos, salteadores, brujas, magos, corsarios, diablos y hasta vampiros."⁸ This was to him the Romantic type.

However, there are admittedly certain Romantic traits in the poem, whatever be the precise definition to be adopted of the word "Romantic." And in the second article, before considering the argument of the *Moro Expósito* and its various characteristics in detail, our critic returns to the subject of Romanticism in general, and particularly as illustrated by the poem. This second article begins thus:

Empeñados en la cuestión del clasicismo y del romanticismo, al extender nuestro primer artículo sobre esta leyenda del Sr. Saavedra, no nos fué posible ocuparnos particularmente de su mérito literario; pero creemos oportuno fijar la atención sobre una obra que sale al público, no sólo para ser juzgada respecto de lo que por sí misma vale, sino con la pretensión

⁷ *Modern Language Review*, July 1921, pp. 281-296.

⁸ In *Crónica científica y literaria de Madrid*, No. 275, 16 Nov. 1819. The reference in the concluding words is of course to Byron. See *Revue de littérature comparée*, Jan. 1922, pp. 113-6.

además de introducir en nuestra poesía un género nuevo, y al cual no faltan numerosos opositores.

Habríamos hecho con gusto un análisis extenso del poema, desarrollando su plan, examinando sus episodios, estudiando los caracteres, desmenuzando todos los pormenores, ya según las reglas del clasicismo, ya según las convenciones y licencias del género romántico: pero el poco espacio que las materias políticas nos dejan para artículos de esta naturaleza, nos quitan la posibilidad de realizar nuestro deseo.

The critic then goes over the ground of the day before, in somewhat greater detail. He finds a simplicity of action in the poem, a masterly characterization and a straightforwardness of construction which make it difficult to call it Romantic at all:

Diremos no obstante que la acción del *Moro expósito* es bastante sencilla, que está conducida con orden y regularidad, y que no presenta en su principio, en su medio y en su fin ninguna complicación ni extravagancia que choque a la verosimilitud. Los caracteres de los personajes, tanto principales como secundarios y accesorios, están bien delineados y sostenidos con maestría. Los episodios se enlazan naturalmente con el curso de los sucesos; en fin, el mecanismo de todo el poema indica, y aun prueba suficientemente, que el autor conoce los preceptos del buen gusto, y que difícilmente puede separarse de ellos.

And why, we may ask, should the critic be surprised at this? Had not many Romantic productions already appeared in other countries of which the same could be said? The answer is that he is still possessed of the idea that Romanticism meant fantastic extravagance and second-rate mysteries: even the birth of Mudarra, the apparitions of the seven Infantes, the characters of Giafar and Rui-Velázquez, Elvida and Vasco Pérez are commonplace compared with what he had considered "Romantic." And he is again in the same dilemma. The poem is (as was claimed for it) neither Classical nor Romantic: *what then is it?*

No habiendo en su poema ninguna de las creaciones estrafalarias, séanos lícito decirlo así, de las imaginaciones fantástico-románticas, ninguno de aquellos héroes sin verdad, escondidos siempre en misterios inexplicables y envueltos en una atmósfera nebulosa, se querrá deducir acaso que la obra del Sr. Saavedra pertenece al clasicismo. No es así: los rígidos sectarios de Horacio y Boileau la repudiarán casi en la totalidad, calificándola de bastarda y monstruosa.

It is at this point that the writer realises the truth: the *Moro Expósito* represents a specifically Spanish Romanticism. There are

already English, French and German types of Romanticism: there is now to be a type peculiarly Spanish, and this work is its herald—who knows, perhaps its *chef d'œuvre*! Not what Mora had unkindly called the “vaporosidades Ossiánicas”⁹ would characterize the Romanticism of Andalucía; metaphysical subtleties, misty landscapes and nebulous heroes were out of place where the sun blazed forth in winter and summer alike and the sky was mirrored in rivers as clear as crystal; vague superstitions and mysterious doctrines were out of place in a land where the whole Faith was taught and believed in its fulness. But Spain was to have a Romanticism nevertheless,—partly to be drawn from her own nature and adapted to her needs and conditions, partly to be found in the customs and the landscapes of other lands.

Let this paragraph be carefully studied, for it is of the greatest significance for an understanding of Romanticism in Spain:—

Nosotros, que somos tan amantes de la independencia en política como en literatura, no nos asociaremos a tan tiránica desaprobación. Creemos que el autor no es un reflejo exacto de los románticos ingleses, alemanes ni franceses; pero pensamos sí que naturaliza el género, en cuanto el influjo de sus buenos estudios primitivos se lo permite, dándole una fisonomía española. Repetimos lo que manifestamos en nuestro primer artículo, y es que el romanticismo varía según los pueblos y según sus diferentes circunstancias. Una cosa que nos incliniría a presumir que el clasicismo es de una belleza hasta cierto punto puramente convencional, es que en todas las edades y en todos los países tiene el mismo aire de familia y una monotonía cosmopolita. Píndaro, Horacio, Tibulo, Ovidio, Anacreonte, Sofocles, Eurípides y Virgilio, tienen grande semejanza con Juan Bautista Rousseau, con Corneille, con Racine, con el Tasso, con Herrera, con Fr. Luis de León, con Meléndez y con otros infinitos que podríamos citar. No puede hallarse la misma analogía entre los románticos de una justa celebridad. El romanticismo se resiente bastantes veces de influencias físicas y materiales: mas de un materialismo adornado y enriquecido con las concepciones del entusiasmo creador. Ossian tiene toda la grandeza fantástica a que se presta un clima de oscuridad y de tinieblas; el poeta puede suponer a su albedrío genios y accidentes caprichosos entre las nubes donde se pierden los sonidos de su harpa mágica: la credulidad puede darlos fé, y la razón aprueba lo que conmueve el corazón. ¡Cómo podía el Sr. Saavedra aplicar estos colores descriptivos de aquellas localidades a la tierra de la luz, del sol en todo su esplendor, a la risueña y rica Andalucía? ¡Qué vestiglos ha de descubrir en un cielo rara vez empañado con leves celajes, en una atmósfera pura y sin vapores, en un suelo cubierto de

⁹ *Crónica científica y literaria de Madrid*, Vol. I, No. 11 (6 May 1817).

flores, en unos ríos donde se retrata el azul de la bóveda divina que los cubre? ¿Qué pasiones de metafísica exaltación ha de pintar, donde los efectos son hijos de corazones meridionales, es decir, de sensaciones fuertes y positivas, y no de impresiones mezcladas con un idealismo tan vago como indefinible? ¿Cómo ha de hallar recursos su fantasía, donde la unidad religiosa excluye las visiones que nacen de creencias poco seguras, multiplicadas y supersticiosas? Así es que el Sr. de Saavedra nunca se acerca más al colorido romántico que cuando halla ocasión de sacar partido de los movimientos de la superstición, como sucede en el momento en que Rui Velázquez al combatir con Mudarra cree ver ante sus ojos los espectros de los siete infantes de Lara, de cuyo horrible asesinato había sido causa.

III

With this section of the review ends its most important part; the remainder is interesting chiefly as being the first article of any length on the *Moro Expósito* and as anticipating almost all the serious criticisms upon the poem which have appeared since. There is first a well-founded reflection upon the presentation of the hero:

Siendo el protagonista Mudarra, ¿no está su carácter trazado con inferioridad, relativamente al modo que lo están el de Rui Velázquez, y aun el de Giafar y Gustios de Lara? ¿En su línea no tienen más vivacidad, más relieve, por decirlo así, los de Vasco Pérez y su madre Elvida? Concluida la lectura de la leyenda no se sabe a punto fijo cual es el delineamiento del personaje de Mudarra. Su amor no es voraz; su venganza contra Giafar y Rui Velázquez más es fatídica que hija de las proporciones gigantescas que el lector se siente inclinado a suponerle. Lo mismo diremos de Kerima.

Next comes the inevitable objection to the *desenlace*¹⁰ for which the reader has been insufficiently prepared:—

La abandonamos [a Kerima] en el quinto romance, dejándola tierna, sensible, enamorada, algo quebrantada en el respeto a la creencia religiosa en que fué educada; y no volvemos a verla hasta el romance duodécimo;

¹⁰ Cf. E. Gil y Carrasco, *Obras*, Madrid, 1883, p. 151; N. Pastor Díaz in preface to Rivas' complete works (Madrid, 1894, Vol. I, p. 63); Ch. Mazade in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 321 ff.; Azorín, *op. cit.*, p. 135, all of which censure the *desenlace*. Manuel Cañete (*Escritores españoles e hispano-americanos*, Madrid, 1884, pp. 47-8, has been its principal and almost only defender. "La rapidísima catástrofe con que concluye *El moro expósito*," he says, "es complemento racional de su idea generadora, reducida a patentizar simbólicamente que la maldad y los excesos de la pasión nunca se libran del justiciero castigo de la Providencia."

y sin preparación bastante, huye del altar donde iba a unirse con el hombre predilecto de su alma, y se condena a los rigores de la vida de un convento. ¿Es verdadera inspiración de la religión cristiana? ¿Es fanatismo? Una pasión superior en fuerza ¿ha destruido así el amor que profesaba a Mudarra? ¿De dónde nació esta? ¿De odio en efecto al matador de su padre? Hay tal violencia en ésta transición, tal desengaño para los ánimos que tenía cautivados, que la razón se queda helada, el afecto que se la profesó desaparece, y su resolución no conmueve inspirando interés; lo que después se refiere de Mudarra, añade a la incertidumbre que sobre él hemos señalado, y el último término del grandioso cuadro que se ha recorrido no corresponde a la pompa que le rodeó y al entusiasmo que produjo en los primeros. El abandono romántico no debe ir hasta incurrir en estas degradaciones del efecto primitivo.

There follows a consideration of the versification employed: the hendecasyllabic line is discussed, and the author's facility in the use of it commended. Exception is taken (in spite of what was said above) to the triviality of some of the language in the poem:

Hay sin embargo a veces un desaliño reprehensible y palabras de una trivialidad chocante aun admitiendo las licencias del género que se propuso. Estas expresiones vulgares cuando se introducen en un episodio vulgar por su misma naturaleza o cuando se ponen en boca de interlocutores de clase baja, creemos (y perdonénnos los clásicos) que están en su lugar. Las bambochadas en un cuadro de Tenniers son oportunas; el conjunto de la composición lo tolera y aun lo autoriza; pero un personaje grotesco de este pintor, en uno de los cuadros sublimes de Rafael, sería una contradicción y aun un absurdo.

We have next an account of the various "purple passages" in the poem, the argument having previously been briefly summarised. Two passages of note are reproduced as they stand: the archpriest's kitchen scene, which is the first, has since become the most famous example of Rivas' realism. Of it the critic, returning to the question of style, remarks:

¿Y esto se llama poesía? exclamarán los irritados clásicos. Puesto que en todo este trozo hay un cuadro completo, animado, tan vivo como pudiera conservarse en un lienzo de la escuela flamenca, que una copiosa nomenclatura aunque vulgar, retrata objetos, que las palabras todas son análogas al intento, que la versificación es fluida y contribuye al movimiento del famoso encargo del ama del arcipreste, nosotros diremos que hay poesía y llena de algazara, de bulla y de contrastes propios de la escena que se describe.

The second passage, cited as an example of Rivas' loftier style, is

the description of the fire in Rui-Velázquez' palace and the loss of his son.

Finally, after mentioning two somewhat far-fetched points of similarity between Saavedra and Scott, which I hope to deal with later in another article, the critic returns to the question of versification, and quotes a number of defective lines; then he ends an article of as great interest to students of Rivas as it is significant in the history of Romanticism in Spain with a wish which was certainly fulfilled:

Por último si el género adoptado por el poeta consigue hacer prosélitos, sólo deseamos que sus imitadores desempeñen sus planes con el acierto y primor de ejecución que lo ha hecho D. Angel de Saavedra. Entonces nuestro parnaso, a pesar del rigorismo clásico, aumentará sus riquezas y nuestra poesía cultivará un campo vasto, donde hallarán tesoros inagotables los escritores dotados de fuego y de imaginación.

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SOME REFERENCES TO ELIZABETHAN THEATERS

BY THORNTON S. GRAVES

No doubt most of the extant contemporary references to Elizabethan theaters have been utilized by such writers as Malone, Collier, Rendle, Halliwell-Phillips, and Adams. A few, however, do not seem to have been known to these scholars. They are of decidedly minor importance but may be of some interest to students of the early drama.

1. The Theatre and the Curtain

(a) T. F.'s *Newes from the North* (1585), the dedication of which to Lord Henry Sidney is dated November 26, 1579, contains one allusion to the Theatre and Curtain which is frequently cited, but no one, I believe, has called attention to the story in the same work (Bk. II, Sig. Li) of the rich man in Holborn who "if any freend or neighbour requires him to goe with them to the Tavern, to the Ale house, to the Theater, to Y^e Curtain as they tearm it, or to Paris garden or any such place of expence," refuses their invitation, and on their return puts the amount his trip would have cost him into his savings-box.

(b) In *Quips upon Questions* (1600) by Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe (i. e., John Singer?) one of the "quips" is titled "Who's the Foole now?" a rime about a man who after getting drunk went to the Curtain, where he fell asleep and was robbed by

A soberer man then he, or girle or boy,
I know not who.¹

¹Note that in the *Middlesex County Records* under date of March 11, 1600, appears the notice of the arrest of William Haukins, charged with taking a purse at the Curtain (cf. Adams's *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 85). For other references to purse-taking at the playhouses see Tobie Matthews' reference on Sept. 20, 1598, to the "Almain" who lost 300 crowns at a new play called "Every Mans Humor" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic* 1598-1601, p. 97); *A Manifest Detection of Dice Play* (Percy Society, **XXIX**, p. 39); Middleton's *Black Book* (Bullen's ed. of Middleton, **VIII**, p. 41); *Nobody and Somebody* (ed. Simpson, ll. 1893-96); Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, v, i; *Banquet of Jests* (1657), pp. 108-109; Sampson in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for June, 1915, p. 195.

(c) The last lines of the following passage from Richard West's *The Court of Conscience* (1607) are fairly well known, but the whole passage deserves quotation on account of the description of the vicinity of the Curtain:

Now Causaliero you have bene at Paules,
 At forenoones sermon? whether walke you now
 To Lincolnes Inne, the Temple, or the Rowles,
 And so to Moore-gate to the Golden plowgh?
 In the after noone youle walke a turne or two,
 About Moore-field the grounds all leueld new.
 The winds too high, the dust flies in your eyes,
 Tis paultrie walking there till th'elmes be growne;
 A better place then that you can deuise,
 Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,
 The garden alleyes paled on either side,
 Ift be too narrow, walking there you slide.
 Into a house among a bawdy crew,
 Of damned whores; I theres your whole delight.

(d) J. H. in his *This Worlds Folly* (1615), after speaking very bitterly against "Fortune-fatted fooles," including Garlick and Greene—a passage implying that these actors were connected with the Fortune Theatre—writes thus: "Those also stand within the stroke of my penne, who were wont to *Curtaine* ouer their defects with knauish conueyances, and scum off the froth of all wanton vanity, to qualify the eager appetite of their slapping Favorites" (Sig. B2),—a reference which does not speak in very complimentary terms of Curtain entertainments and which possibly implies that the Curtain was temporarily not in use *ca.* 1615.

2. The Rose

Tucca's remark in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, III, i, that Miniver's breath is "as sweet as the Rose that growes by the Beare-garden" is generally interpreted as indicating that the Rose, on account of its proximity to the bear-baiting, was sometimes visited by unpleasant odors. That Tucca is referring rather to the flower which grew abundantly in the Paris-garden district is made probable by a very similar passage in Henry King's *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonets* (1664) in which the poet says (Ed. Mason, p. 39) of Madam Gabina's breath that

'tis somewhat like the smell
 That does in Ember weeks on Fishstreet dwell;
 Or as a man should fasting scent the Rose
 Which in the savoury Bear-garden growes.

King may have known Dekker's play, but it seems more probable that both authors were employing a common expression at a period when the odor of the Bear Garden was a topic of much conversation.²

3. The Blackfriars and the Globe

(a) Austin Saker in his *Narbonnus* (1580) remarks that "the Theatres could not stand except Narbonnus were there, nor the plaies goe forward unlessse he trimmed the stage,"—which may possibly be an early allusion to sitting on the stage at Farrant's playhouse (cf. Collier's *Rarest Books in the English Language*, iv, 9).

(b) The following words of the late F. G. Fleay, written in 1882, are interesting in view of the recent discovery of the existence of a Blackfriars Theater as early as 1577: "The Paul's boys, for instance, acted in a singing room of their own till they were inhibited in 1589, and again from 1599 to 1606; the children of the Chapel also, in my opinion, acted in the Blackfriars building many years before it was rebuilt as a private theatre in 1596" (*Transactions Royal Historical Society, Old Series*, x, 114).

(c) *The Run-awaies Answere to the Rod for Run-awaies* (1625) has an interesting comment on the behavior of certain actors during the plague:

You yourselfe (could you haue gotte a Horse) would haue bin one of the Tribe of *Gad*, with one of your Comerades; for ther's no Dancing now to your *Theatrian* Poeticall Piping: Neither your *Frierians*, nor *Cock pitterians*, can for loue or money helpe you to a Plaudity, we wish for their owne sakes (and yours) they could; But many of them (that could get Winges) have kept company with vs in our flight.

² Allusions to the foul odor of the Bear-garden are legion. Cf., for example, Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, Induction; Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Scornful Lady*, iv, i; Florio's *Second Fruites* (1592), p. 155; Stubbes' *Anatomy of Abuses*, Ed. Furnivall, p. 177; *The Humourous Lieutenant*, iv, 4; Cowley's *Loves Riddle*, i, i; *Anglia*, xxii, p. 461.

(d) S. Hall's complimentary verses prefixed to Samuel Harding's unacted tragedy *Sicily and Naples*, published at Oxford in 1640, contain the lines:

No claps, or loud applause, (like Swans which breed
Onely in noyse) to give her issues birth,
No *Hums*, not *Dam-me-boyes* to set her forth:
Scorning all glory that is not her owne,
Nor needing a *Blacke-Fryers* shaven crowne,
(As some,) to wispe her temples, though put forth
So poore, that *six-pence* charge buyes all she's worth;
She'le out-blaze bright *Aglaure's* shining robe:
Her scene shall never change, the world's her *Globe*.

Can "a *Blacke-Fryers* shaven crowne" possibly be a reference to the sign of the famous theater?

(e) Speaking of English dances, John Evelyn in his *A Character of England* (1659) says that they "appear more like the *Farce* of a *Comedy* at the *Hotel de Bourgogne*, than a *Ball* of the *Noblesse*"; and a marginal note explains *Hotel de Bourgogne* as "The playhouse at Paris, as once ours at Blackfryers" (p. 51).

(f) In Henry Farley's *The Complaint of Paules* (1616) St. Paul's is made to say that within the past few years she has seen many new buildings, "some for pleasure, some for health and recreation, some for Royall entertainments and sports, and many for charitable vses:

And I have seene the Globe burnt, and quickly made a Phoenix.
Q. But who sees me?

(g) Two possible compliments to Shakspeare's playhouse may underlie the reference to the "World" in the following passages, the first from Richard Woodfall's verses prefixed to Lewis Sharpe's *The Noble Stranger* (1640), the second from the anonymous *The Incomparable Poem Gondibert Vindicated From the Wit-Combats of Four Esquires* (1653):

- (i). Nor can she [Sharpe's Muse], had she rob'd the fluent store
Of Donns wise Genius, make thy merits more:
No, 'tis thy owne smooth numbers must preferre
Thy Stranger to the Globe-like Theatre.
- (i). O hopefull *Inigo*, towardly old man,
That know'st so much, that *Daphne* [D'Avenant] nere knew letter,
Oxford him bred, *Paris* brought up. Who can
(And the Globe clapt his Playes) who can do better? (p. 29).

4. The Fortune and the Red Bull

(a) In *Pimlyco, or Runne Red-Cap* (1609) the poet advises the host in words which perhaps throws some light on the quality of ale sold in the public theaters:

Build thy House round with Galleries,
Like to a Play-House; for thy Ale
(Bee't bad, bee't good, bee't new, bee't Stale)
Brings thee good Audience: from each shore,
Ships of Fooles lanch, to seeke thy Dore;
Ere prodigall Gulls saile backe agen,
Thei'le pay thee money to come in:
Keepe then, thy wife and thou, the dores
Let those within wipe out the Scores.
Yet (O vile counsell!) why do I labour
To have a Christian wrong his neighbour?
Each afternoone thy House being full,
Makes Fortune blind, or Gelds The Bull.

(b) *Crete Wonders foretold By Her crete Prophet of Wales*, a tract printed in 1647, echoes a well-known passage in John Melton's *Astrologaster* (1620):

There shall also crete inflammations of Lightning tis happen year about the fortune in Colding-Lane, if the players can get leave to act the tragedies of Doctour *Faustus* in which Tempest shall be seen shag-haired Tivills, runne roaring with squibs in teir mouthes, while drummes make thunder in the tiring house, and the twelve pennie hireling make artificiall lights in her heavens.

(c) In Thomas Jordan's *Walks of Islington and Hogsdon* (1663) Pimpwell, on returning to Hogsdon from Redcross Street, remarks to Rivers (II, i): "Who should I meet withall coming from thence through the Fortune-Playhouse yard, but old Jones,"—which should be compared with the "Play-house yard" shown in Ogelby and Morgan's map of London (1677) printed by Adams to face page 270 of his *Shakespearean Playhouses*.

(d) R. Speed's *The Counter Rat* (1635)^a has an interesting explanation by a musician why he and his companions were arrested and placed in the Counter. A party of drunkards had insisted that they should go to

^a An earlier edition appeared in 1628.

the Blue Bore,
Kept by mad Ralph at Islington.

After arriving at Mad Ralph's the musicians and their patrons became drunk, but the former managed to make their escape:

The company then being fast asleepe,
And we paid soundly, out did creepe
Into the high-way—O sweet Moone!
We, but for thee, had beene undone.

.
Three in one ditch being almost drown'd
Yet out we scrambled, and a long
The Play house came,—where seeing no throng,
We surre 'twas sure some scurvie play,
That all the people so sneak'd away,
And so the Players descended were
To th' Starres, Nags-head, or *Christopher*.
To all those tavernes (we cry'd) Let' goe,
At which one fell, and then swore—No.

From the Red Bull they pass the "Bars at Smith-field," the stews near "Cow-Crosse," and

through the Horse-faire
Into the middle of Long-Lane.⁴

(e) No. 79 of the "hundred excellent conceits" added to the 1559-60 edition of Thomas Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things* reads: "When Stage-plays were in use, there was in every place one that was called the Foole; as the Proverb saies, *like a Fool in a Play*; at the Red-Bull Play-house, it did chance that the Clown, or the Fool, being in the Attireing house, was suddenly called for upon the Stage, for it was empty, he suddenly going, forgot his Fooles-cap, one of the players bad his boy take it and put it on his head as he was speaking, no such matter (saies the Boy) there's no manners nor wit in that, nor wisdom neither, and my Master needs no Cap, for he is known to be a Fool without it, as well as with it" (pp. 357-58).

⁴ With this interesting comment on the habits of the Red Bull players should be compared Prynne's statement in his *Histriomastix* that the players are panders, or at "leastwise neighbours to them": "witness the Cockpit and Drury Lane; Blackfriars playhouse and Duke Humphries; the Red Bull and Turnball-street; the Globe and Bankside brothel-houses, with others of this nature."

(f) No. 339 of *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jests* (1660) is titled "On the Fool in the Play": "A Gentleman took his son along with him to the Red Bull Playhouse in St. John street to see a Comedy, which was very well acted by *Pimponio* in the *Opportunity*: upon their return his father askt him whom amongst all those brave Fellows he most affected? Truly, replied the Boy, I liked the Fool best, and could have wisht them all Fools for his sake, because he made the most mirth."

(g) Among the less familiar⁵ references to the rant at the Red Bull should be included Flecknoe's words in his *Sixty-nine Enigmaticall Characters* (Ed. 1658, p. 121):

She looks high, and speaks in a *majestick tone*,
like one playing the Queens part at the Bull.

(h) In the address to the reader prefixed to *A New Book of Mistakes* (written ca. 1637) the author, after explaining the word *bull* in the sense of a blunder, remarks that the kinship of such "bulls" is not acknowledged by the Black Bull in Bishop-gate Street, the White Bull that tosses dogs at the Bear Garden, nor by "the Red Bull in Saint Johns Streete, who for the present (alack the while) is not suffred to carrie the Flagge in the main-top."⁶ May this not after all be a reference to the frequency of "bulls" or verbal oddities in Red Bull plays, in view of John Cleveland's remark in his character of *A Country Committeeman* (ca. 1645): "He is *persona in concreto* (to borrow the solecism of a modern statesman). You may translate it by the Red Bull phrase, and speak as properly, Enter seven devils *solus*" (Morley's *Seventeenth Century Characters*, p. 299). And in view of Cleveland's "Red Bull phrase" one may ask whether the following poem, which occurs in *Wit and Drollery* (Ed. 1656, pp. 155-56) under the title "A Red Bull Prologue," and in the third edition (1686)

⁵Cf. the well-known references to crude performances at the Fortune and the Bull in the anonymous poem prefixed to Randolph's works (Ed. Hazlitt, II, 504), Thomas Carew's verses prefixed to Davenant's *Just Italian* (1630), Trincalo's words in *Albumazar* (1615), Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1615), Cowley's *The Guardian*, II, vi and iv, 8 (cf. also his *Cutter of Colman-Street*, III, vii), *Wit at Several Weapons*, II, 2, Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote* (Ed. 1654, p. 24), etc.

⁶Apparently an allusion to the plague of 1636-37. Cf. W. C. Hazlitt's *Prefaces and Dedications*, p. 359.

of Richard Head's *Nugae Venales* (p. 184) as "A Bull Prologue, Supposedly write by Sr. W. D.," may not be another joke at the expense of Red Bull language:

You that do sitting stand to see our Play
Which must this night be acted, here today,
Be silent pray; though you aloud to talk
Stir not a foot, though up & down you walk;
For every silent noise the Players see
Will make them mute, & speak full angrily;
But go not yet, until you do depart
And unto as your smiling frownes impart;
As we most thanklesse thankful will appear
And waite upon you home; but yet stay here.

5. The Bear Garden and the Hope

(a) With John Taylor's words in his *Bull, Beare, and Horse* (1638),

And that we have obtained againe the game
Our Paris Garden Flag proclaimes the same,

should be compared the lines in Richard Turner's *Nosce Te* (*Humours*), published in 1607:

Shine hollow Caues, and thou celestiall round,
Droppe downe harmonious accents from thy spheares,
Let heaven and earth with merry noise resound,
The Flagge hanges out to day thei'l bait the beares

(Sig. Bi.)

(b) Thomas Powell's *Tom of All Trades* (1639) contains the words: "I now espy mine Host of the Bull here in *Saint Albans* standing at his doore upon his left leg like to the old Drummer of Parish-Garden, ready to entertain us" (p. 49),—which may refer to one of the "entertainers" at the Bear Garden, though it may be an allusion to the use of Paris Garden as a drilling-ground for soldiers. *Hudibras*, it will be remembered, was

Bred up where discipline most rare is,
In military garden Paris.

(c) An interesting document not referred to in the various discussions of bear-baiting is Henry Peacham's *Merry Discourse of Meum and Tuum* (1639), which handles very amusingly the

bear-garden squabbles, "the manifold contention and quarrels betweene the Bear Wards and the City Butchers, for the first turnes, or courses with the Dogges," etc.

(d) Much discussion has grown up around a passage in iv, i of Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602). Tucca on entering greets Horace (Jonson) and then inquires of Asinius, "What's my name, Bubo?"

Asinius. Wod I were hang'd if I can call you any names but Captaine and Tucca.

Tucca. No, Fye'st, my name's Hamlet reuenge: thou hast been at Parris garden hast not?

Horace. Yes, Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there.

The clear reference to plays at Paris Garden has caused trouble. Ordish (*Early London Theatres*, p. 272), following Rendle, thought that the passage refers to Jonson's having acted at the Swan, located in the Paris Garden district; while C. W. Wallace (*Eng. Studien*, 43, pp. 370-71) thinks the passage refers to Jonson's acting a rôle in the *Isle of Dogs* presented at the Swan. But a more generally accepted view is that of Boas and others (*Works of Kyd*, liii and xci), the view that the first part of Kyd's speech refers to the acting of Kyd's old play of *Hamlet* at Paris Garden and the latter part to Jonson's performing in *Soliman and Perseda* at the same place. Very recently Østerberg in his *Studier over Hamlet-Teksterne*, Part 1 (1920), has opposed the theory that the passage refers to a performance of a *Hamlet* at Paris Garden, a position which Mr. J. Dover Wilson accepts most enthusiastically, writing thus (*Mod. Language Review*, xv, 439): "Mr. Østerberg shows conclusively that the oft-quoted sentence from Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602)—'my name's Hamlet reuenge: thou hast been at Parris garden hast not?'—has been misunderstood through being taken out of its context. Tucca addresses the first half of his speech to Asinius and the second to Horace, so that there is no connection between the two remarks. It appears, moreover, from what follows that Paris Garden is referred to as a bear-garden and not as a playhouse. There was therefore no intention whatever of linking *Hamlet* with a performance at Paris Garden, as all previous critics have supposed. The point is one of considerable importance, since it renders the history of the *Hamlet* text a straightforward one from 1594 onwards."

It is hardly fair or safe to oppose the view of Mr. Østerberg, since I have been unable to consult a copy of his work, but if the words of Mr. Wilson are an adequate and trustworthy presentation of the new theory, then there seems to be no reason to give up the generally accepted view, since it does not seem to have been "placed out of court." Unquestionably the first part of Tucca's speech is addressed to Asinius and the latter part to Horace, but that is no reason for not believing that the mention of "Hamlet revenge" naturally suggests to the mind of Tucca the place where the piece was acted and the somewhat pointed question which he addresses to Horace. Unless we assume some such association of ideas, we shall have to explain a remarkable hop in the thinking of Captain Tucca. Mr. Østerberg is also quite right in saying that Tucca in his subsequent remark refers to Paris Garden as a bear-garden. That is the point of the whole passage, for Dekker wishes to bring out the uncomplimentary fact that Jonson had associated with the very worst troupes of players. We may question whether Jonson ever ambled by "a play-wagon in the highway" or took "mad Jeronomoes part" or acted Zulziman at the Bear-garden, but there can be no doubt that Dekker wished to give the impression that he had done all of these things.

That plays as well as puppet-shows⁷ and the performances of trained animals⁸ were sometimes given at the earlier Bear-garden is certainly implied by Horace's words above. Prynne, too, in his *Histriomastix* (folio 556), speaking of the Paris Garden disaster of 1583, seems to say that people sometimes resorted to the unfortunate structure "to see Beare-bayting, Playes, and other pastimes"⁹. Of considerable interest in this connection are stanzas

⁷Cf. Ordish's *Early London Theatres*, p. 139 and McKerrow's Ed. of works of Nash, I, 83.

⁸Nash in *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* (1589) speaks of "strange trickes and deuices between the Ape and the Owle" at Paris Garden (McKerrow, I, 83). Can the word *owle*, Elizabethan cant for a fool, refer to some clown trick at Paris Garden? On the ape at Paris Garden see also McKerrow's *Nash*, III, 104 and IV, 352; Collier's *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.* (1831), III, 279; Bond's Ed. of Lyly, III, 406. On the trained ape in general see *Modern Lang. Notes*, XXXII, 215-221 and XXXV, 248-49.

⁹Lambard's frequently quoted passage in his *Perambulation of Kent* (Ed. 1596) referring to those who go "To Paris Garden, the Bell Savage or Theatre, to beholde beare baiting, enterludes or fence play" is even

13 and 14 in "A North Country Song" printed in *Wit and Drollery* (1656):

I staid not there, but down with the Tide,
I made great hast, and I went my way;
For I was to see the Lions beside,
And the Paris-garden all in a day.

When Ise come there, I was in a rage,
I rayl'd on him that kept the Beares,
Instead of a Stake was suffered a Stage,
And in Hunkes his house a crue of Players

(p. 78.)

I do not know the date of this song. The words "Hunkes his house" would seem to indicate that the author is speaking of conditions before the building of the Hope in 1613—the period when the famous Harry Hunks was alive¹⁰—but this is by no means certain in view of the fact that early in the seventeenth century the word *hunks* became a general term for a bear or a surly elderly person.¹¹ If the author of the song is referring to late conditions, then the passage above invalidates the statement of Adams¹² and Greg¹³ that there is no evidence to show that the Hope was ever used for plays after 1616.¹⁴

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vaguer than Prynne's remark and consequently of little value as evidence. The same is true of Rye's condensation of Zinzerling's words (ca. 1610) regarding the London playhouses: "The theatres (*Theatra Comoedorum*) in which bear and bulls fight with dogs; also cock-fighting" (*England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. 133).

¹⁰George Stone, a contemporary of Hunks died ca. 1610 (cf. Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, p. 105, note). Hunks is referred to in No. 43 of Sir John Davies' *Epigrams*, which were surely written by 1596; he is specifically referred to as if he were still living in Dekker's *Work for Armourers* (1609) and Peacham's lines prefixed to Coryat's *Crudeties* (1611).

¹¹Cf. *New English Dictionary* under "hunks."

¹²*Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 336.

¹³*Henslowe's Diary*, I, 68.

¹⁴Of course Freshwater's nonsense in v, i of Shirley's *The Ball* (1639) can hardly be twisted into evidence that plays were or were not given at the Hope. Speaking of Paris—which he derives from the name of Priam's son, as Paris Garden is similarly derived by John Taylor—he remarks: "Here I observ'd many remarkable buildings, as the university, which some call the Louvre; where the students made very much of me, and carried me to the Bear-garden, where I saw a play on the Bank-side, a very pretty comedy call'd *Martheme*, in London."

OLD ENGLISH CAUSATIVE VERBS

BY JAMES FINCH ROYSTER

Causative action was expressed in Old English by two means: (1) by a directly converted causative verb, as *settan*, *cyðan*; (2) by a periphrasis, as *don*, *lætan* in combination with a word or word-group that records the act accomplished or the state arrived at. The object of the present study is to determine the behavior of the Old English language toward these two means of causative expression.

I. THE DIRECTLY CONVERTED CAUSATIVE VERB.

It will be well, first of all, to consider the Old English inheritance in means of expressing the causative aspect of action in the same word that expresses the action itself. The verb-making machinery of the Indo-European language provided no exclusive morphological category for this type of verb. Causative verbs were commonly formed with the suffix *-éje-: éjo-*,¹ but this form group was not reserved for causatives; many verbs of frequentive and iterative aspect were made according to its formative process. It is, indeed, by no means certain that the allocation of causative sense to verbs of this type was not rather of an acquired than of a primary character.²

¹ Brugmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, §§ 690-693; Delbrück, *Griechische Grammatik*, iv, 118 ff.; Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, §§ 1041 ff.; Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, § 206.

Whitney (*loc. cit.*) calls Skt. *-āya* a "causative sign," but he directs attention to the use of this "sign" in forming verbs of other aspects of action.

In Latin many verbs of the *-éje-: -éjo-* type were absorbed into the second conjugation, generally associated with verbs of intransitive aspect (Lindsay, *A Short Historical Latin Grammar*, pp. 87-91).

² Fay ("Indo-European Verbal Flexion Was Analytical," *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 263, 1913, pp. 26 ff.) collects much evidence which tends to upset the belief that the suffix *-éje-: -éjo-* was originally causative in meaning. And other means of expressing causative action were employed in Indo-European languages. In Sanskrit, for instance, the reduplicated aorists are largely causative (Whitney, *op. cit.*, § 856); the Greek middle-voice sometimes has causative meaning (Gildersleeve, *Greek Syntax*, i, § 150).

This *-éiē-: éiō-* derivative verb was represented in Germanic by the *-ijō-* type, the first class of weak verbs.³ Although Germanic causative verbs are closely associated with this type, the class cannot be regarded as a causative category with any more reason than may be advanced for regarding any other weak verb class as a container of verbs of one aspect only. The case for agreement between form and function in the Germanic weak verb may not rightly be pushed further than Wilmanns⁴ carried it in his comment upon Jacobi's attempt⁵ to fix rigidly a relation between type and meaning in these verb classes: "Die Gebiete der verschiedenen [schwachen Conjugationen] lassen sich nicht von einander abgrenzen. . . . Auch die Bedeutung ermöglicht keine strenge Scheidung, obwohl eine gewisse Beziehung zwischen Form und Bedeutung unverkennbar ist . . . ; in der ersten treten die Factitiva oder Causativa, in der dritten die Durativa . . . und Inchoativa hervor, doch finden sich Verba von gleicher Bedeutung auch in der anderen Klassen." Germanic weak verb classes were reduced in Old English practically to two. These two classes were in part distinguished by phonetic and inflectional differences. The phonetic characteristics of the first class are umlaut of the radical vowel and gemination of the consonant of the verb stem. These phonetic changes were made, however, only under particular conditions; the vowels of many verbs of the first class never suffered umlaut; while the consonants, never including *r*, were doubled only in the stems of verbs with a short radical vowel, and then only in certain forms of the present indicative and the imperative.

The two Old English weak verb classes contain verbs of various aspects of action. These classes are too few, of course, to provide a category for every action-aspect. Kellner misrepresents the cases when he says:⁶ "If a verb was derived from an adjective, it

³ Dieter, *Altgermanische Dialekte*, § 215; Kluge, *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte*, § 192; Collitz, *Das Schwache Preteritum und Seine Vorgeschichte*, pp. 100-101.

⁴ *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, 49.

⁵ In *Die Bedeutung der Schwachen Conjugationen*, Berlin, 1843.

⁶ *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 211. Kellner adds (p. 212) that "even in Old English we see that the distinction is no longer strictly observed." "Strictly" is by far too weak a limitation. See Koch, *Histo-*

split into forms of different meaning. If formed by means of *-ja* (1st conj.), it had a causative meaning; if by *-ð* (2d conj.), an intransitive one." At no stage of the language was the matter of function distribution so simple and orderly as this; surely it was not so at any time when we are able to observe the facts of usage in the written record. The conclusion is directed by the traditional assumption that we proceed in language from primitive specification to civilized generalization.

The facts that follow in regard to the distribution of verbs between classes I and II of the weak verb according to aspect of action are drawn from a consideration of one hundred fairly common causative verbs taken from Alfred's Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Alfred's Version of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (early prose), Ælfric's *Homilies*, Wulfstan's *Homilies* (late prose), *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Christ*, and *Beowulf*. A lexical search would easily have furnished the whole list of causative verbs preserved in the record; but the completeness of the dictionary material would tend to give equal importance to all verbs of this sort, to the common and to the unfamiliar causative verb.

In this group of one hundred causative verbs so chosen sixty-one are of class I; thirty-nine are of class II. This is approximately a proportion of three to two. All of the verbs in this number derived from transitive verbs of the strong conjugation, sixteen in count, are of class I. Only about ten per cent. of the approximately three hundred strong verbs seem to have developed causatives.

In the case of some verbs, double aspect of meaning is distinguished by difference in form as described by Kellner in the quotation drawn above from his *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*: *hætan*, 'make hot, heat'—*hatian*, 'be, grow hot'; *wierman*, 'make warm'—*warmian*, 'get warm.' But distinction in form does not always mark difference in aspect of meaning.

rische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, § 132, and Bladin, *Studies on Denominative Verbs in English*, p. 7, for diagrams of a cross section of the English language at a time "when 1 class verbs formed on adjectives have both transitive and intransitive senses, while 2 class verbs just begin to adopt intransitive sense." One may well wonder at what precise moment this cross section was cut.

In many instances verbs of class I bear both causative and intransitive sense: *stillan*, 'make [and] become still'; *styntan*, 'make [and] become dull.' While *trymman* has the same double function, *trumian* is recorded only in an intransitive aspect of meaning; and the complex *untrumian*, again, means both 'make weak' and 'become weak.' Appear in class I, too, verbs of only intransitive sense: *swigan*, 'be, become silent'; *celan*, 'be, become cool,' beside *colian*, also with an intransitive sense.

Many verbs of class II exhibit only an intransitive aspect. But, as in the case of class I, the larger number of class II verbs in the list examined show both causative and intransitive functions; as, *lytlīan*, 'be, become [and] make old': *(ge)idlian*, 'be, become [and] make empty.' Other verbs of class II, indeed, leave record of only a causative meaning: *niwian*, 'make new, renew'; *(ge)niðerian*, 'bow down.'

No obligatory form, then, marked the causative verb in Old English. Dependence for indicating the causative aspect of action was placed largely upon the word-order and the context of the sentence. Syntactical necessity, indeed, demanded no more; but desire to emphasize the prominent element in the causative expression must have been felt by precise speakers. Furthermore, the directly converted causative verb represented all shades of causative meaning—from a mild 'cause' to 'compel.' Here was opportunity for Old English speakers to bring into use a special process—by invention, composition, borrowing, or any other means—to express causative action and to particularize among its degrees of compulsion. The users of a language do not, however, always take the chances open to them to differentiate by form the distinctions which logical considerations point out; perversely they disregard these opportunities, and just as perversely they often waste two or more forms upon a single logical function. If in the later and more fixed stage of a language a form does grow to meet a demand for further specialization of meaning, it is likely to be made by analysis. The inflectional system, which in the case of the causative might express the manner of the action in the same word with the action itself, is congealed and will not provide the process. But in the formal language of the Old English written record only a limited use of a causative verbal periphrasis is found. Verbal periphrases of any sort are, indeed, not

so common in this language as they are in present-day English.⁷ Of them, the most familiar are *beon*, *habban*, and *weorðan* joined with present and past participles to form the passive voice, present and past perfect tenses, and present and past progressive tenses.⁸ *Sculan* and *willan*, too, are near the point of becoming full-fledged auxiliaries.⁹ But the behavior of the Old English verb of the formal record is not distinguished by a habit of composition.¹⁰

Follow here the results of an investigation into the use of verbal compositions in Old English for expressing causative action. These results confirm with their particulars the general statement made above: that the use of causative verbal periphrases in written Old English is narrowly restricted.

II. PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

1. *Don*.

For use as a causative verb, *don*¹¹ was at any time semantically available to Old English speakers. The primary meaning of its base **dhē-: *dhō-*, 'put, place,' is a signification from which a specific causative meaning easily develops, as the writer has shown in an article published in the first number of the seventeenth volume of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (Jan-

⁷ See Sweet, *New English Grammar*, §§ 2203 ff.; Erdmann, *Essay on the History and Modern Use of the Verbal Forms in -ing in the English Language*, Stockholm, 1871, pp. 12 ff.; Akerlund, *The History of the Definite Tenses in English*, Cambridge, 1911; Pessels, *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, Strassbourg, 1896.

⁸ It is, of course, here recognized that in many cases verbal compositions in Old English mean no more than the simple verb forms.

⁹ Blackburn, *The English Future: Its Origin and Development*, Leipzig, 1892.

¹⁰ "Though our mode of tense formation by auxiliaries began in Old English and was generally extended in Middle English, it has been for the most part settled and developed in modern times" (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, xiv, 501).

¹¹ I include *gedon*. Nothing like a systematic distinction between *don* as imperfective and *gedon* as perfective verb appears in preserved Old English usage. See Klaeber, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xviii, 2, pp. 250 ff., April, 1919; Knott, *Modern Philology*, xv, 1, 64; Larz, *Actionsart in Beowulf*, Wurzburg, 1908.

uary, 1918).¹² And I. E. **dhē-*: **dhō-*, in its dialectical variants, was used in a causative sense.

The construction dependent upon causative **dhē-*: **dhō-* varied among a double nominal object, a nominal object plus an adjective predicate, and an infinitive. Use of *dhā-* in Sanskrit seems to have been restricted in the causative sense to its employment with a double nominal object;¹³ as, *mami devā dadhire havya vāham* (= me the gods [have] made oblation-bearer). Under correction, it is used with a following infinitive only in compositions.¹⁴ Sanskrit made large use of the directly converted causative verb and also employed *kar*¹⁵ as a causative verbal-phrase former—indeed with a following infinitive: *tena sa praṇāmām kārītas* (= by him he was caused to make obeisance). Any predisposition of *dhā-*'s to causative use may thus have been hindered. Use of *d[h]ā-* as a causative and with a predicate adjective is attested in Avestan: *sātəm dabāiti urvanəm* (= lactum facit animum) *xšayaməm aš avanəm dāyata* (= regnatum religiosum facite).

While *ποιέω* is more commonly used in the Greek causative periphrasis, *τίθημι* (< **dhē-*), too, finds causative employment.¹⁶ Causative *τίθημι* is followed by two nominal objects, by a nominal object and an adjectival predicate, by a noun clause, and (infrequently) by an infinitive.

Latin *facere* is widely used in the causative sense. In the art language of the classical Roman writers *facere*, in this meaning, is regularly followed by *ut*, *ne*, or the simple subjunctive, and by predicate nouns and predicate adjectives.¹⁷ The infinitive is

¹² See also Yoshioka, *A Semantic Study of the Verbs of Doing and Making in the Indo-European Languages*, Tokio, 1908.

¹³ Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, s. v. *dhā-* (p. 176); "6. make, cause, produce."

¹⁴ Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1071; Fay, "Pro Domo Mea," *American Journal of Philology*, xxxvii, 2, April-June, 1916.

¹⁵ Yoshioka, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Lanman, *op. cit.*, s. v. *kr* (p. 143). The word is cognate with Latin *creare*, which is used only in the general sense of 'make'; while *facere*, cognate with Skt. *dhā-*, employed generally in the wide meaning 'put,' 'make,' is used as a causative.

¹⁶ Liddell and Scott, *Greek Dictionary*, s. v. *τίθημι*, B. II: Simonson, *Greek Grammar*, II ("Syntax"), § 2216, 2; Nunn, *A Short Syntax of New Testament Greek*, pp. 89 ff.

¹⁷ Kühner, *Ausführliche Lateinische Grammatik*, II, 1, 695.

practically never used in the dependent construction. But the colloquial language did employ an infinitive after *facere*,¹⁸ and in medieval Latin this was the favored construction.

The dialectical variants of Germanic **don-* (O. S. *don*, O. H. G. *tuon*, O. E. *don*) are used as causatives. In the Germanic languages, the dependent construction varies, as it does in the Indo-European tongues, among noun and adjective predicates, noun clauses, and infinitives.

O. S. *don* as a causative is followed by: (1) a nominal object plus a predicate adjective; as, . . . *uuit [h]ebbiat unk giduan / Uualdand uuerðan*;¹⁹ (2) a *that*-clause; as, *Oft gededa he that an them land scin*;²⁰ (3) an infinitive; as, *he doit im iro hugi tuiflien*.²¹

O. H. G. *tuon*,²² used causatively, is followed by: (1) a nominal object plus a predicate adjective; as, *sina sela heila tuon*;²³ (2) a *daz*-clause: as, *ongin this blinton tuon tha; theser in sturbi*;²⁴ (3) an infinitive; as, *inti tuot sie sizzen*.²⁵

In Old Norse, Germanic **don-* is unrepresented. The causative burden in this language is borne largely by *láta*, *gøri*, and *fá*.

¹⁸ Thielmann, "Facere mit dem Infinitiv," Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik*, III, pp. 160 ff.; Rieman, *Syntaxe Latine*, § 180. In the use of *facere* in verbal composita, as *calefacere*, *pavefacere* (Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 91), we see in all probability *facere* plus an infinitive (Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 159).

¹⁹ *Genesis*, 24-25. Cf. O. E. *Genesis B*: *ac unc is mihtig God / Waldend wraðmod*. See Behagel, *Syntax des Heliands*, pp. 201 ff. It seems scarcely necessary to quote from Old Saxon or from the other Germanic dialects examples of the two noun construction.

²⁰ *Heliand*, 1211.

²¹ *Tuiflien* may be considered an adjective in the accusative case rather than an infinitive. Steig (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XVI, 478) considers it an infinitive, and argues that this and *Heliand* 5575 are instances of the use of *duan* plus an infinitive as an auxiliary verb. See Pratze, "Syntax des Heliands" (*Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, XI, 72). Cases of *duan* with a following infinitive are found also in the O. S. translation of *Psalms*, 67, 6 and 73, 8 (*Kleinere Altniederdeutschen Denkmäler*, Paderborn, 1877).

²² Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 103; Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, §§ 344 and 350.

²³ *Tatian*, 90, 5.

²⁴ *Tatian*, 135, 22.

²⁵ *Tatian* (John 6, 10).

A descendant of the stem fails, too, in Gothic; its lexical burden in Gothic is carried by the etymologically unrelated but semantically similar *taujan*.²⁶ The constructions following *taujan* are the same as those employed after O. S. O. E. *don*, O. H. G. *tuon*: nominal object and predicate adjective;²⁷ noun clause;²⁸ infinitive.²⁹

The same constructions follow O. E. *don* as follow O. S. *don*, O. H. G. *tuon*, and Gothic *taujan*: (1) nominal object and predicate adjective; as, *ic gedo þe weligne*;³⁰ (2) noun clause; as, *Drihten us gedyde þæt we moston buian*;³¹ (3) an infinitive;³² as, *Matheum he gedyde gangan*.³³

The habits of **don*- as a causative in the Germanic dialects have been described. In tables appended to this article are displayed in parallel columns a dozen illustrations of Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old High German, and Old English translations of the same Biblical passages containing causative constructions. The point of this inquiry will now be directed toward an attempt to determinate the extent of *don*'s use as a causative in Old English. The nature of the construction dependent upon this *don* will not be forgotten, for it bears an important relation to the Middle English habits of *don* and to the very probable growth of auxiliary *don* out of causative *don*.

²⁶See *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvii, 1, Jan. 1918, p. 85.

²⁷*Matthew*, 5, 36.

²⁸*John*, 11, 37.

²⁹*John*, 5, 21. See the tables appended to this article and 2 *Cor.*, 9, 10; 1 *Thess.*, 3, 12. The infinitive use, whether a native idiom or under Greek influence, predominates in the Gothic Bible.

The O. N. cognate of *taujan*, *tøja*, *tyja* was early a common verb of 'doing, making,' but was crowded out by *gerva* and remained in one of its secondary meanings, 'help, assist.' It is used, too, as an auxiliary verb in the manner of *do*; as, *sol ter sortna* (the sun does blacken).

See Yoshioka, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

³⁰*Apollonius of Tyre* (Herrig, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 97, p. 27, l. 8).

³¹*Psalms* (metrical version), 28, 8.

³²With and without an accusative subject. For the interests of this study no good can come of attempting to determine whether the accusative noun is the object of *don* or the subject of the infinitive.

³³*Blickling Homilies* (E. E. T. S., O. S. 57), 239, 16.

Interest in the causative use of *don* has been, in previous studies, very slight or merely incidental to other questions of usage and syntax, or only the most general statements have been made concerning the construction. Einkenkel³⁴ says that the use of O. E. causative *don* was "häufig." Callaway,³⁵ who is concerned with the infinitive construction after *don* in any sense, has assembled the recorded cases of causative *don* plus an infinitive. Riggert,³⁶ dealing with the general use of the infinitive in Old English poetry, throws a vague observation or two upon the extent of causative *don*'s employment with a following infinitive in the poetical remains. Dietze³⁷ gives a casual opinion in regard to the date and growth of the construction in Old English prose; his opinion is that it is a foreign and an unusual construction in Old English. Kellner³⁸ seems to imply that causative *don* was first known in Middle English when he writes: "From the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth *do* means 'to cause,' thus *making up for the loss of causative verbs*."³⁹ Nesfield⁴⁰ makes a safely wide generalization that *do* became useful in the causative sense "when our language had lost the power of forming causal verbs, like *raise* and *rise*." Other comments upon the construction might be cited, but to no purpose in finding a full or an accurate statement of causative *don*'s habits in Old English.

In neither the prose nor the poetry, neither early nor late, is *don* with a nominal object and a predicate adjective⁴¹ frequently

³⁴ *Streifzüge durch die Mittlenglische Syntax*, p. 236: "Im AE. is dies *don* (causative with infinitive) häufig, im ME. wird es allmählig verdrängt durch *maken*."

³⁵ *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, Washington, 1913.

³⁶ *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie*, p. 58.

³⁷ *Das Umschriebende Do in der Neuenglischen Prosa*, p. 10.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 352. The italics are not Kellner's.

³⁹ Very few causative verbs have, of course, been lost.

⁴⁰ *English Grammar Past and Present*, p. 357.

⁴¹ The nominal object and predicate adjective and the double noun object after *don* are sometimes considered constructions in which the infinitive of the verb *be* has been elided. If this is true, the examples cited here should be grouped with the infinitives after *don*; but there is no evidence whatever, nor is there any reason, for claiming priority for the construc-

found; but it does occur often enough to be attested a well-established manner of expression in the written Old English language. In approximately fifteen hundred pages of prose I find the construction used twenty-seven times.

In approximately two thousand pages of Old English prose I found sixty-one instances of the use of causative *don* with a following *þæt*-clause.⁴² In practically the whole of Old English poetical writing there appear to be but twelve cases of the same construction. Of these, eight—seventy-five per cent.—are from the metrical translation of the *Psalms*.⁴³

Don plus an uninflected infinitive seems to have been recorded in all the preserved Old English writing but seventeen times; three times in poetry, fourteen times in prose. Since the instances are few, and because they are of importance in their bearing upon much of the discussion that follows, all of these examples will be quoted here.

In poetry:

Psalms (metrical version), 67, 6: *se ðe eardian deð anes modes* (qui *inhabitare facit unianimes*).

Ibid., 103, 30: *deð hi for his egsan calle beofian* (*facit eam tremere*).

Ibid., 118, 25: *do me æfter þinum wordum wel gecwician* (*vivifica me secundum verbum tuum*).⁴⁴

tion with the *be*-infinitive. The appearance of the logically full construction in Middle English seems an addition rather than a restoration. The logically complete construction, here or elsewhere, is not necessarily earlier than the logically elliptical construction.

⁴² *Boethius* 8 cases (10, 3; 24, 25; 36, 15; 38, 8; 38, 14; 81, 34; 123, 3; 123, 14). Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* 2 cases (360, 19; 460, 31). Wulfing, *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II, 90, cites six instances from Alfred (three from *Cura Pastoralis*) and says that the construction is "sehr häufig." *Blickling Homilies* 4 cases (39, 27; 71, 6; 71, 20; 159, 6). *Chronicles* 1 case (E 1115: 216, 12). *Ælfric's Pentateuch*. 10 cases (Gen. 17, 6; 25, 21; 31, 26; 47, 30; *Ea.*, 10, 13; *Lev.* 4, 3; 19, 19; 26, 18; *Deut.*, 4, 1; 8, 5; *Ælfric's Homilies* (Vol. 1) 16 cases (6, 7; 84, 16; 182, 14; 242, 12; 254, 1; 320, 21; 322, 6; 372, 11; 376, 3; 376, 34; 442, 36; 460, 23; 460, 29; 462, 1; 568, 34; 576, 20). *Gospels* 9 cases (*Mat.* 4, 19; 5, 32; 5, 45; *Mk.*, 1, 17; 7, 37; *Luke*, 9, 14; 12, 37; *John*, 6, 10; 6, 63). *Wulfstan's Homilies* 11 cases (38, 6; 52, 26; 53, 3; 58, 18; 79, 17; 98, 21; 174, 8; 195, 9; 195, 25; 196, 5; 226, 27).

⁴³ 28, 7; 28, 8; 29, 5; 30, 19; 38, 12; 82, 12; 129, 1; 142, 8. The other instances are *Daniel*, 168; *Juliana*, 138, 475; *Christ*, 1383.

⁴⁴ Again the metrical version of the *Psalms* has an unusual position in the use of *don*. See *ibid.*, 118, 156.

In prose:

Bede's *History* 98, 27: *se ðe eardigan deð anmodan in his fæder huse*^a

Blickling Homilies, 239, 16: *Matheum he gedyde gangan.*

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 64, 17: *þæt he do his þeowan rice for worulde genihtsume on welan and unwiðmetenlice scinan.*

Boethius' *De Consolatione*, 14, 17: *Swa doð nu ða þeostro þinre gedrefednesse wiðstandan minum leohtum larum.*^a

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 468, 20: *Swa swa þu dydest minne broðor his god forlætan and on þinne gelyfan.*

Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 216, 14: *se ðe deð his sunnan scinan.*^a

Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 296, 20: *and ic dyde eow witan.*

Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 442, 21: *he deð his halgan sittan.*

Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 600, 12: *Do us lufian.*

Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, 214, 90: *gif þu me unwillles gewemman nu dest.*

Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, XXXIII, 316: *þæt he gedo us werlice becuman.*

Old English Laws (ed. Liebermann), 410 (*Judiciam Dei*, c, 4, § 1): *and þu doest þa fyrhta (et facies ea[m] tremere).*

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 196, 1: *Treowa he deð færllice blowan.*

Wulfstan's *Homilie*, 196, 2: *and sæ he deð on lytelre hwile beon.*^a

To the three cases of an inflected infinitive after *don* cited by Wülffing⁴⁹ from the writings of Alfred I am unable to add an example from the rest of the Old English written record. Wülffing's instances are *Orosius*, 126, 31; Bede's *History*, 594, 4; and *Cura Pastoralis*, 356, 5.

The search which is recorded in the figures of the last few pages shows that in the preserved formal language of the Old English period the normal construction after causative *don* was a *þæt*-clause. That an infinitive was so used in Old English poetry only in the metrical version of the *Psalms* was long ago established by

^a A quotation of *Psalms*, 67, 6 (above).

^a Dietze's assumption (*op. cit.*, p. 9) of tense-auxiliary use of *don* here may be correct. There is no reason to read *settan* for *setton* in *Orosius*, 48, 9, as Dietze does, in order to increase the number of infinitives after *don* in the Old English record.

^a Cf. *Matt.* 5, 45: *se þe deð hys sunne aspringð.*

^a In the late (early Middle English) entries of the Laud MS. of the *Chronicles* five examples of causative *don* plus infinitive appear: E. 1123; E. 1127; E. 1128; E. 1132; E. 1138. No instance earlier than 1123 and no case in a MS. other than Laud is found.

^a *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II, 184 and 209.

Riggert.⁵⁰ To interpret this statement properly we should, however, set beside it another statement to the effect that causative *don* with any kind of following construction is rare in Old English poetry, only a dozen cases of an accompanying *þæt*-clause being recorded, and to the further effect that two-thirds of these are found in the same composition that furnishes all of the instances in the poetry of a following infinitive. Dietze's observation that Alfred used "factative *don* only with a dependent noun clause" is very nearly correct. The writings usually attributed to Alfred's direct or indirect authorship give up three examples of an inflected infinitive (as set down just above) and two of an uninflected infinitive.⁵¹ Although six of the fourteen examples of *don* plus an uninflected infinitive assembled from Old English prose and quoted on page 338 above are from Ælfric's *Homilies*, a *þæt*-clause is, nevertheless, the largely predominating following construction in this late prose text. In Wulfstan's *Homilies* the count is almost six to one in the favor of the clause over the infinitive.

To the fact that the majority of the infinitives after causative *don* appear in late texts attention has been directed by Callaway.⁵² He holds Latin influence probably responsible for the appearance of the infinitive after causative *don*. Dietze⁵³ is positive in his expression of his opinion that the infinitive in such cases appears only when an Old English writer was slavishly following a Latin original, as in the interlinear glosses.⁵⁴ Independent of Latin, he says, the construction is found only after 1100. With "after 1100" he refers to the five cases from the Laud MS. of the *Chronicles* later than 1123 in which an infinitive is used, as he further says, along with the clause construction. Since only one

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁵¹ P. 338 above. Dietze considers Boethius' *De Consolatione*, 14, 17, a tense-auxiliary. In *Cura Pastoralis* no infinitive, apparently, except in 356, 6 (noted above) is used.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁵³ Many of the examples quoted above as causative uses of *don* Dietze considers tense auxiliaries. He would allow infinitive after tense auxiliary *don* as native, but resorts to the explanation of foreign influence to account for it in the causative use!

⁵⁴ On the contrary: "Ælfric is not constrained by the example of Latin syntax," and was "too good a scholar to distort his native language" (Ker, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 307 and 311).

instance of *don* plus a clause occurs in the *Chronicles*, "along with" must be generously interpreted.⁵⁵

The evidence presented to prove Latin influence responsible for the few infinitives which appear after *don* in the Old English written record is far from convincing. An opinion in regard to the question is, indeed, hard to come by. But surely no opinion may be justly held until the *don* plus infinitive usage has been compared with the practice of Old English translators of Latin compositions in turning Latin causative constructions into Old English causative constructions; and has been examined in the light of related Old English language habits; and in relation to the usage as it appears in the later stages of the language.

In two Old English translations of fairly long Latin compositions—one prose, the other poetry—*facere* plus an infinitive is, in the large majority of cases, rendered by *don* plus a *þæt*-clause. All such cases of *facere* in the *Pentateuch* (eight in number) are so translated.⁵⁶ Preference in this document for the clause construction is so marked that the translator resisted the Latin model in every case.

The original before the translator of the metrical version of the *Psalms* did not contain many instances of *facere* plus infinitive; and the preference of the Latin for the single-word type of causative was shared by the Old English poet. Five cases appear in which the translator could have imitated his original in depending an infinitive to a causative *don*; in three of the instances he did

⁵⁵ E. 1115. The most commonly used causatives in the *Chronicles* are *hatan* and *lætan*.

⁵⁶ *Gen.* 18, 6; 24, 21; 50, 24; *Levit.* 4, 3; 19, 19; 26, 9; *Deut.* 13, 5; 28, 11. A Latin finite verb form is made into an English *don* plus clause construction in *Gen.* 47, 30 and *Deut.* 28, 26. Opportunities of the New Testament translators to render *facere* plus infin. by *don* plus infin. are frequently avoided; as, for example: *Matt.* 5, 32; *Mark* 1, 17; 5, 45; 7, 37; *Luke* 5, 34; 12, 37. By reference to the table where these verses are quoted (Appendix) it will be seen that Got. and O. H. G. are in agreement with the Latin (and Greek) infinitive form of expression, except in *Mark* 1, 17, where Got. uses a directly converted causative verb. A statement by T. L. K. Oliphant is close to the mark: "But where the Gothic and Latin have accusative with infinitive, English commonly put that with a dependent clause" (*The Old and Middle English* [1878], p. 147).

follow the Latin lead.⁵⁷ In one of the two in which he departed from the model he employed a *þæt*-clause,⁵⁸ and in the other a directly converted causative verb.⁵⁹ In the interlinear translation of the *Vespasian Psalter* these two examples are rendered by *don* plus infinitive. But in the Lindisfarne version the Latin formula is not always followed; it is rendered by a *þæt*-clause in *Mark* 7, 37 and *John* 6, 10.

A strong preference for the *þæt*-clause after causative *don*, even with the suggestion of an infinitive before the writer, is shown in these two translations. What may be an imitation of the Latin construction is observable in three instances; at any rate responsibility of the Latin for the English construction in these few instances cannot be denied. But admission of this Latin influence has only slight importance beyond the range of these documents, and has little bearing upon the question of whether *don* plus infinitive was employed in the widely used Old English language. Furthermore, these examples should not be considered alone. Too much of the "proof" of syntactical influence of one language upon another has consisted of exhibitions of mere similarities in forms of expression. Likeness of construction does not necessarily mean imitation. Language influence and imitation are relative terms. In all cases of "like-this—on-account-of-this" in language, these considerations, at the least, should be inquired into: is the construction in the borrowing language already in existence in another sphere of the language and merely changed in its habitat? is it a thoroughly native but unusual form of speech which gains in popularity by its accidental similarity with the manner of speech of another nation? or is the construction quite new to the imitating language and consciously borrowed by speakers and writers who know the foreign language and who pass it on until it becomes generally acceptable?

The influence of Latin upon the spread of the infinitive in the dependent causative construction in the English language is apparently of small importance in comparison with the effect of other conditions and practices of the language.

Attention was directed above to the ease with which clause

⁵⁷ These examples have been cited above (p. 337).

⁵⁸ 38, 12.

⁵⁹ 112, 8.

replaces infinitive and infinitive takes the place of clause after the congeners of *don*. In the Old English written language is observable, too, a convertible usage of clause and infinitive after other verbs. After *beodan* and *biddan*, for instance, though a *þæt*-clause is by far the more numerously recorded, a number of infinitives appear in the written record.⁶⁰ After the two frequently used verbs *hatan* and *lætan* (sometimes used as causatives) the same swapping between clause and infinitive may be seen. Although after both these verbs the infinitive is almost always used,⁶¹ *hatan* upon occasion commands a clause,⁶² and *lætan* also governs a clause.⁶³ The tendency toward infinitive in the face of the heavily predominating clause pattern after these and other verbs⁶⁴ must be considered in any attempt to account for the later English practice of causative plus infinitive.

The obvious preference of the writers of the Old English art-language for the *þæt*-clause over the infinitive is not to be disputed. The practice of Middle English writers, on the contrary, is to use the infinitive after *do(n)* to the increasing exclusion of the clause. The behavior of the superior-class language of the Old English record must be regarded in relation to the practices and conditions of Middle English writing. The bearing of Old English language habits observable in the record upon Middle English language forms and manner of expression has received an undue share of consideration in comparison with the attention which has been given to the possible bearing of the facts of usage to be found in the Middle English record upon the form and structure of the unrecorded language of the Old English period. In a more nearly colloquial Middle English document may be represented habits and practices of the widely used Old English language that do not

⁶⁰ Wulfing, *op. cit.*, II, 93, 98, 179, 182, 188, 208, 565.

⁶¹ Callaway (*loc. cit.*) cites more than sixteen hundred examples of *hatan* plus infin. and more than five hundred of *lætan* plus infin.

⁶² As in *Chronicles* E. 664; C. 976; Ælfric, *de Novo Test.*, 17, 22. *Beowulf* shows 21 examples with infin.; 2 with clause (2156, 3110).

⁶³ As in Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 55, 17; 197, 21.

⁶⁴ In modern English the practice is not absolutely fixed. The variation continues in Middle English. See Simonson, *Greek Grammar*, §§ 2213, 2216 ff., for a discussion of the convertible usage between clause and infinitive in Greek.

appear in one of our formal Old English literary compositions. So far as its language is concerned, a document of the year one thousand may have been old at the time of its writing; its traditional language may have been many years behind the speech current when it was written. This consideration has been too easily overlooked by students of our language, intent upon establishing an orderly development of that institution, and too desirous of "deriving" the Middle English written language directly from the models of the Old English language whose record we have inherited. In its intention to establish a smoothly flowing descent, the historical method has been too nearly unwilling to recognize genetic gaps.

The standards of the art of literature in the Old and in the Middle English periods differed greatly. Long before the close of the Old English period a fixed literary dialect had been set up;⁶⁸ style and manner of expression had become traditionalized; the system of symbols used for representing sounds had been formalized to so large an extent that it probably was not phonetically representative of the current language; its grammar and syntax were, to say the least, conservative. Middle English and Old English, as we very imperfectly know them through their records, are removed from each other by a space of years greater than the short gap existing between the Norman Conquest and the beginning of the next century. The differences between the languages of the two periods are not to be accounted for altogether by the lapse of even a hundred years or more. The differences are also those that exist between class dialects, and are due quite as much to a shift in standards of writings as to a separation in time. Since the immediate source of Middle English phonology and syntax is not, then, to be found altogether in the line of direct inheritance from the preserved records of the cultivated Old English authors writing in a traditional class dialect, our task should not be to fix the practices of the Old English written language as we know it as the bounds and limits of Old English usage and thereby to

⁶⁸See Ker, *The Dark Ages*: "Anglo-Saxon books in their handwriting and their shape have the air of libraries and learning about them, of wealth and dignity" (p. 251). The poetry of the period, and most of the prose, possessed a "fully developed language and a regular traditional method of expression" (p. 247). We do not find compositions written in "an uncouth language" "for a simple-minded audience" (p. 254).

exclude the likelihood of the presence in that usage of forms and idioms first written or extensively employed in the Middle English period. The presence of a form or of an idiom in Middle English writing should, on the contrary, set up the presumption that the usage is of Old English inheritance, unless probable evidence of its source from elsewhere is furnished.

The use of the analytical causative is found greatly increased in Middle English writing over its recorded employment in Old English; and the general practice of Middle English writers is to append to causative form-words an infinitive construction.⁶⁶ The five cases in the late (Middle English) entries in the *Chronicles* have been referred to above.⁶⁷ *Vices and Virtues* (ca. 1200) shows ten instances of an infinitive after *don* to two of a noun clause. In *An Old English Miscellany* (ed. Richard Morris) *do(n)* is used seven times with an infinitive; no clause is found after the verb. In *Old English Homilies*, Vol. II, (ed. Richard Morris) *do(n)* is used three times with an infinitive, and once with a clause.

Were there conditions of Middle English writing favorable to, and of Old English writing unfavorable to, the infinitive construction?

The style of Old English poetry, and that of the most of Old English prose, is characteristically a clausal style. Its heavy rhythm, its rolling periods fall into imposing clausal cadences; and the clause, too, serves its preference for the indirect manner of expression. Stylistic intentions may easily account for the almost total exclusion of this idiomatic form of expression.

The style of Middle English writing was less fixed, and its syntax was simpler. In this more nearly colloquial written language, the thriftier infinitive would be preferred. The short-cut infinitive construction came into full use when elaborateness and indirection were no longer literary preferences; when the strophic sweep had been discarded in favor of a more rapidly punctuated

⁶⁶ Oliphant, *op. cit.*, p. 458. In Middle English, where the dependent infinitive predominates, the tendency toward dual usage continues; see Mätzner, *A Middle English Dictionary*, s. v. *don*, 7. A noun clause is not infrequent after *make(n)*; see Chaucer, *Clerkes Tale*, 731; Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, I, 2622.

⁶⁷ See p. 339 above.

rhythmic form; and when prose no longer followed Ælfric's polyphonic style.

Argument from silence is, of course, seldom convincing, but the form common to the more nearly vernacular literature of the Middle English period may very likely have been submerged in spoken Old English, to be handed on by oral transmission until the time when the form of popular speech became also the form of the written language. The presumption to be drawn from Middle English usage that *don* plus infinitive was used in the popular Old English speech is stronger than the argument against such an assumption based upon the narrowly restricted appearance of the construction in the written record of the chosen Old English dialect.

The matter of infinitive or clause after causative *don* in Old and Middle English is more important than as a mere detail of difference in style and language standards of the two periods. It is of consequence in the life history of the verb *do* in English, because upon the *do(n)* plus infinitive causative type very likely depends the growth of *do(n)* as a tense auxiliary. And though the primary concern of this study is with the causative use of *don*, the relation between these two functions of the verb is so close that some consideration of its tense auxiliary use can not be put aside.

The first frequent appearance of auxiliary *do(n)* in English writing comes at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁶⁸ Earlier uses of auxiliary *do(n)* in restricted quantity and in doubtful examples are, of course, observable. An important collection of such examples in the fourteenth century has been made by Professor Samuel Moore.⁶⁹ Other instances may be found here and there in earlier Middle English. Some students of our language are, indeed, of the opinion that instances of the usage are to be seen in the Old English written record.⁷⁰ No one of them, however,

⁶⁸ See the writer's article, "Auxiliary *Do*—1400-1450," *Modern Philology*, XII, 7, Jan., 1915.

⁶⁹ "Robert Manning's Use of 'do' as Auxiliary," *Modern Language Notes*, Nov., 1918.

⁷⁰ Sweet, *New English Grammar*, II, p. 88; Grien, *Sprachschatz der A. E. Poesie*, s. v. *don*; Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, II, pp. 62 ff.; Dietze, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

maintains that a widespread use of auxiliary *don* is recorded in the extant language material of that period. Sweet's statement is a fair summary of the generally held view: "The first beginnings [sic] of the auxiliary use can be traced back to Old English." Grein cites a few examples of what he considers auxiliary use of *don*, in which the verb is usually followed by a *þæt*-clause. Among his instances with a following infinitive are the examples quoted above from Boethius' *De Consolatione* and from *Juliana*; he includes also the following instances from the metrical *Psalms*: 65, 18; 107, 10; 118, 97; 118, 170; 118, 174; 129, 1; 131, 10. Dietze adds the examples quoted above from *Orosius* (126, 31).⁷¹

It may be that all of these are examples of a fully developed *don* tense auxiliary. It cannot be proved that they were not felt as auxiliaries by their Old English users. The ambiguous zone between direct and indirect action is, as Professor Moore and I have emphasized, so easily tilted a degree in one or the other direction that judgment as to the aspect of meaning intended is in many cases difficult to render. The limits between the two uses are approximate and not absolute. The difficulty of decision is not to be removed altogether by a logical analysis of single instances. The surrounding language conditions should be considered in any attempt to interpret these and similar uses of *don*. A consideration of some of these conditions creates a favorable attitude toward accepting auxiliary interpretation.

The behavior of congeners of *don* indicates the availability of the verb for tense auxiliary use. Instances of the construction from Middle High German were long ago cited by Grimm,⁷² and two dubious cases from Old Saxon were presented by Steig.⁷³ Use of the *tun*-periphrasis in modern German dialects is well known. The roots of the usage go, however, further back than the time of the earliest examples cited from Germanic dialects. Sanskrit *dha* in such a phrase as *dadhe nidrān* is merely a form-word; the

⁷¹ Wülfing (*op. cit.*, II, 43), to the contrary; he accepts Boethius, 22, 13 as causative.

⁷² *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 94. Mätzner (*op. cit.*, II, p. 62) was of the opinion that "one does not have to maintain, perhaps, that auxiliary *do* grew up on English soil."

⁷³ See p. 344 above.

phrase is equivalent to "did (a)sleep," or "was (a)sleep." Fay¹⁴ thought he saw the *dh* of **dhē* : *dhō* in the ending in the primate *sthām-dh* plus an accusative infinitive, equalling "do (to) stand;" in the Latin perfect ending *-dit*, as in *fun-dit*; and in the *-θην* aorists in Greek, as *ἐ-κλίθη*, "he did lean." *Facere* plus infinitive in medieval Latin is often merely a convertible form of a tense ordinarily made by morphological change.

Whether it be the single source of origin or not, causative use of *don* is a heavily influencing element in the growth of tense-auxiliary *don*. If we may assume an extensive folk use of causative *don*, which for one reason or another the literary language did not employ, the acceptance of tense-auxiliary use in Old English would be more easily gained. This is not a difficult assumption to make. Where lived for a possible several hundred years the *tun* periphrasis in spoken German dialects until in later years it was recorded in books for humorous or "local color" effects? A great amount of colloquial and vulgar periphrasis of present-day English is unrepresented in our formal language.

Let us examine some of the examples which have been presented as tense auxiliary uses. Of the three cases offered in which an infinitive follows *don*, greatest hesitation must arise in accepting *Psalms* 118, 25: *Do me æfter þinum wordum wel gecwician* (*vivifica me secundum verbum tuum*). As to whether *do* shall be construed here 'cause' or 'do' depends largely upon whether *gewician* means 'be alive, come to life' or 'make alive, animate.' If the latter transitive sense be accepted (with *me* as object of *gewician*), *do* may be considered an element in an imperative periphrasis. Bosworth-Toller records only the transitive sense for the verb; but the same authority sets down only an intransitive sense for *libban*; whereas the verb is, as a matter of fact, used in the two aspects: 'live' and 'make alive,' as *God lyfde Adam*¹⁵ and *þætte wrecend þa gyt lybde*.¹⁶ Another rendering of *vivificare* in

¹⁴ "Pro Domo Mea," *American Journal of Philology*, xxxvii, 2, pp. 168 ff. Skt. *kr* (a causative verb) is found also employed as an auxiliary in tense-making (Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, Vocab., pp. 142-143). The behavior of *hatan* and *lātan* as causatives and auxiliaries is considered below. The same double use of O.N. *lata* and O.French *faire* should be mentioned.

¹⁵ Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 9, 6.

¹⁶ *Beowulf*, 1257.

the same *Psalm* should, also, be brought into view in considering verse twenty-five. In verse one hundred and fifty-six, *vivifica me* is rendered *do me cwicne*. *Do* is here undoubtedly causative; and if it is causative in one case, it is probably causative in the other. Such instances as verse twenty-five, in the possibility of their double interpretation, make the extension of auxiliary use from causative use seem a reasonable explanation, and justify a discussion of its meaning; for an extended argument over the interpretation as causative or auxiliary would be scarcely worth while merely to add a single case to or subtract it from the small number of even arguable cases of auxiliary use in Old English. Acceptance of either interpretation would not greatly affect the history of causative or auxiliary *do* in the English language.

Many of the examples in which Grein and Dietze assume a tense auxiliary use of *don* show a *þæt*-clause after the verb. It is not necessary, of course, that the two elements in a verbal periphrasis be juxtaposed; but they will not readily get fixed in an often-repeated word-group unless they are in a narrowly conjoined grouping. A verb to which a subordinate clause is depended and to which it is loosely joined in position will not easily lose its notional identity and come to be a form-word. It is possible, but it is scarcely probable, that in the following sentence quoted by Dietze as an example of auxiliary use *don* has lost any part of its notional element of 'act': *Drihten is soðfæst and gedeð . . . þæt he firenfulla fæcne geðancas wis toweorpeð*.⁷⁷ The clause impediment to tense auxiliary use is obvious in this word collocation.

A third manner of early auxiliary use of *don* is brought forward by Dietze.⁷⁸ His earliest example of the construction is drawn from Layamon's *Brut*: *swa doð a feole wise: to name ariseð*.⁷⁹ Dietze maintains that the construction in this and in similarly formed sentences shows the formative element doubled, and that this use is an influence working toward the tense use of *don*. Many examples of this manner of expression are easily found before the time of Layamon. The locution is, for instance, fairly

⁷⁷ *Psalms*, 128, 3.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷⁹ 400, 14 (MS. A). For other Middle English examples, see Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *don*, 9.

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frequent in Wulfstan's *Homilies*.⁸⁰ A ready example is: *Leofan men, doð swa eow micel þearf is, understandað . . .*⁸¹ If we consider *swa* an adverbial conjunction, we shall read: "Dear men, do, as it is highly needful for you, understand. . ." If we look upon *swa* as a relative, we shall read: "Dear men, do what is highly needful for you: understand. . ." The first of these two readings is more closely related to causative use.⁸² The construction may, also, be regarded as paratactic; the full logical form of it would be: *Leofan men, doð, swa eow micel þearf is, [and] understandað . . .* Such sentences we find written in Old English: *doð swa ic eow bidde . . . and gescwicað þære synne*.⁸³

This construction is frequently found after the hortatory *uton*; as, *Uton don, swa us micel þearf is, habban . . .*; ⁸⁴ or as it appears in the full form: *Uton don swa gyt læran willað: uton beon . . . a urum hlaforde holde*.⁸⁵ *Don* in all these instances may be considered an anticipatory verb.

From the anticipatory use of *don* Sweet believed an influence spread toward establishing tense auxiliary use of the verb. Ahead

⁸⁰ For instance: 20, 16; 27, 4; 82, 20; 74, 21; 119, 2; 188, 15.

⁸¹ 20, 6. The punctuation is that of the German printed text.

⁸² *Do* in *Do see!* has a different function and, I believe, a different origin from *do* in *I do see*. (See "Do Auxiliary—1400 to 1450," p. 193). *See* in the first case is an imperative rather than an infinitive in origin, and *do* is an exclamatory form of the verb with which *see* is in collision. The imperative of *facere* is used in similar fashion: *Fac, velit: ipsam illum matrem sprevisset*; also it is used with a following infinitive (*Lexicon Totius Latinitas*, s. v. *facere*, 6.) Cf. Modern English *please go*. *John*, 8, 11 (*do ga* = *vade*) is considered by Bright an early example of auxiliary *don* in the imperative; here also *do* is apparently a hortatory form followed by another exclamation.

⁸³ *Genesis*, 2468.

⁸⁴ Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 28, 30.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 119, 12; see also 188, 15 and 189, 3; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 52, 25.

The word-grouping is common in Wulfstan and in the *Laws*. In the *Laws* (ed. Lieberman) we find the parallel Latin usage recorded: *Faciamus, igitur quod adhuc docere volumus* (p. 354, II Cnut, 68); *Faciamus etiam, sicut nobis expedit: succurramus . . .* (p. 301, I Cnut, 20). See Landgraf, G., *Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, II, 1, 115.

The locution appears also with *fremman*, another verb of 'doing, performing,' but with no later history as a causative; as *Abraham fremde swa him eac bebed, sette friðotacn be frean hæse* (*Genesis*, 2368).

of this influence he placed, however, the effect of the *don* pro-verb. Of the anticipatory use he remarks: "From this half auxiliary use was developed the full auxiliary use with the second verb in the infinitive, which is, however, still very rare in Old English."⁸⁶ To account for the shift from the third singular indicative of the complementary verb to the infinitive of the complementary verb, Sweet offers only the influence of the infinitives after the common auxiliaries.⁸⁷

The pro-verb use Dietze, too, considered the strongest influence in developing a tense auxiliary use of *don*.⁸⁸ He was guided in his opinion by Mätzner's suggestion of such a genesis as a theory alternative with the causative origin of the auxiliary use. From the evidence just reviewed it is apparent, I think, that the use of *don* as a tense auxiliary is too meagre and its relation to other uses of the verb too nearly undetermined to warrant us in drawing any fast conclusions as to its origin and spread in the language of the period. We are able to assemble only a small number of undisputed examples of the usage and only a short list of probable instances. We may, perhaps, find in the record several possible spores of the construction. It is neither possible nor necessary to determine upon a single origin among these possible lines of parentage. The growth of the usage, as that of many other constructions in language, may have been of multiple origin. All of the constructions we have just discussed may have been of some assistance in establishing a disposition for the usage. I still hold that extensive causative use of *don* very probably preceded wide use of the verb as a tense auxiliary. And if we are willing to assume a large causative use of *don* in colloquial Old English, we may then assume auxiliary use in the same language sphere.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 2172.

⁸⁷ One may be tempted to put down as examples of anticipatory use such sentences as: *And dydon eall swa hi beowuna wæron: slogon and beornodon* (*Chronicles*, E. 1001). But *dydon* here is rather a pro-verb; the sentence should not be considered as a detached unit, for in the preceding sentence in the *Chronicles* may be found the fore-runners of *dydon*. The collocation is found, too, with a conjunction joining *don* and the repetitive verb: *And Israhela bearn dydon eal swa drihten bebed, and abædon* (*Pentateuch*, Ex., 12, 35).

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 6. For auxiliary *don* Dietze maintains "eine altheimische Eigentümlichkeit."

But causative use appears liberally in early Middle English in all sorts of writing, while extensive auxiliary use does not get into the preserved record for a century and a half or two centuries later.

2. *Hatan*.

The causative function of *hatan* I considered several years ago in an article referred to several times in this paper, "The Causative Use of *Hatan*." To this study of *hatan* as a causative I desire here merely to add one or two observations.

If one's interpretation of causative meaning in *hatan* be at all liberal, its use will be found to exceed that of all other causatives recorded in the Old English remains. Especially is it widely used in the poetry, where it is a formula of the heroic style.

Hatan is used, also, as a mere tense-auxiliary—more frequently so than was *don* in the written record—though its development in this direction was later arrested. It is frequently employed with the subject's agent omitted from the representation, a stage on the way from expression of indirect to expression of direct action. Convertible use of the simple preterite and *hatan* plus infinitive are found in the *Chronicles*; as, *se cyng þa genam eall heora æhte and het niman Sigerferðes lafe* (E. 1015). *Het* plus infinitive is, furthermore, used frequently to translate a simple Latin past tense: *Faroa þa het clipian Abram* = *vocavitque Pharoa Abram*; ⁸⁹ *þone oþerne he het hon on gealgan* = *alterum suspendit on crucem*.⁹⁰ Other instances from *Genesis* and *Exodus* are: *Genesis*, xix, 2; xxii, 6; xvii, 42; xvii, 44; xxxvii, 3; xl, 22; *Exodus*, iv, 22; v, 1; vii, 25; xii, 31; xv, 25; xvi, 33; xxxiii, 7.

Synonymity of *hatan* and *lætan* was noted in my earlier discussion of *hatan*. Further evidence of convertible use of the two verbs may be found in the *Chronicles*; as, *se Cenwalk het atimbran þa ciricean* (A. 643): *þæt Cynwalk kyng let macian* (F. 648).

3. *Lætan*.

As a verb of 'allowing,' *lætan* (plus an infinitive construction) is frequently found in the Old English written remains. As a verb of 'causing' its use in the same language material is, with

⁸⁹ *Genesis*, xii, 18.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, xl, 22.

the exception of its appearance in the *Chronicles*, very small.⁹¹ In the poetical remains in which search was made for causative *don*, no clear examples of causative *lætan* were found, though some ambiguous instances may be cited from these documents. Of the fourteen examples of *lætan* cited by Callaway on pages 306-307 of his *Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, thirteen are without doubt to be rendered 'allow, permit'; one may rightly be construed as carrying the meaning 'cause.' I find no causative use of *lætan* in the *Blickling Homilies*; one in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*;⁹² two in Volume I of Ælfric's *Homilies*;⁹³ six in the *Pentateuch*.⁹⁴ In twenty-six uses of *lætan* in Wulfstan's *Homilies*, three are probably causative uses.⁹⁵ In these three and in similar instances it is not, however, easy to determine whether we should assign the meaning 'cause' or the meaning 'allow.'

When the two aspects of action are so closely related as they are in these instances, use in both meanings may be looked for—and found in *Middle English*. With the most favorable disposition toward construing wavering cases as causative, one cannot find more than an occasional use of *lætan* as a causative in Old English writing, a smaller use than is made of *don* in this meaning. The presumption of use in Old English language from *lætan*'s extensive use in Middle English is strengthened by the exceptionally large appearance of the verb in the causative sense in an Old English composition more nearly colloquial than any other extended writing of the age, the *Chronicles*. Of the sixty-five instances of *lætan* cited from the *Chronicles* by Callaway,⁹⁶ all but five seem to have gone beyond the 'allow' stage of meaning.⁹⁷ Fifty-one of the sixty cases of probable causative use are,

⁹¹ The relation between the verb of 'causing' and the verb of 'allowing' in *lætan*, O. H. G. *lazzan*, O. N. *lata* is discussed in "The Causative Use of *Hatan*." Got. *letan* leaves record of use only in the sense 'allow, let alone.'

Bosworth-Toller glosses *lætan* 'place, cause, make, get, have, cause to be' as the third meaning of *lætan*; practically all the illustrations are of the sense 'place.'

⁹² 133, 25.

⁹³ 509, 19; 522, 2.

⁹⁴ *Ex.*, ix, 24; xxiii, 11; *Numb.*, xi, 24; *Lev.*, i, 15; xix, 29; *Deut.*, xxxii, 39.

⁹⁵ 10, 7; 14, 2; 230, 19.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 284 and 307.

⁹⁷ The five are: E. 999; D. 1038; C. 1046; D. 1066; D. 1079.

it should also be noted, in records of a date later than 1040, wherein the language shows other departures from the Old English standard, which are presumably leanings toward folk-usage.⁹⁸

Some of the instances in the *Chronicles* just referred to may very likely be periphrases for a past tense, in which *let* is merely a form element in an analytical expression of past action, and in which it has lost its causative signification. This is particularly true of the use of *let* with no subject of the following infinitive expressed, a usage which is scarcely more than a periphrasis for the passive voice; as, *and leot macan þone mynster*; ⁹⁹ *let ferialan syððan sce Alfeges reliquias*.¹⁰⁰ The construction is paralleled by the impersonal *man*-construction in: *and þet mynster þær let halgian* (C. 1065): *on þissum geare man halgode þet mynster* (E. 1066); *let hine beran ham . . . and man ferode hine to Lincolne*.¹⁰¹ A similar use in Old Norse is illustrated in: *hann let verð farit* (= he went); *hann let hana verða takna* (= he seized her). The double function of *leten* is frequently found in Middle English.

4. *Macian*.

In any significance, *macian* is an infrequent word in Old English writing.¹⁰² It fails of record in the four hundred and sixty pages of Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, in the one hundred and eighty-eight pages of selections in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, and in the one hundred and fifty-seven pages of Kluge's *Altenglisches Lesebuch*. It is absent from *Beowulf*, *Christ*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*. I find it used six times in Wulfstan's *Homilies*¹⁰³ and twenty-one times in the *Chronicles*.¹⁰⁴ Of the twenty-one

⁹⁸ See the *Chronicles*' use of *macian*, p. 354 below.

⁹⁹ E. 963.

¹⁰⁰ C. 1023. Also, among many other cases, C. 1041; C. 1043.

¹⁰¹ E. 1123. See Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 18.

¹⁰² "It is to be noted that in earlier times these Germanic verbs [O. H. G. *machon*, L. G. Dut. Flem. *maken*, O. S. *macon*, O. Fris. *makia*, O. E. *macian*] were not so commonly used as they are in later periods." (Yoshioka, *A Semantic Study of Verbs of Doing and Making in the Indo-European Languages*, p. 17.)

¹⁰³ 54, 5; 98, 25; 106, 6; 106, 25; 107, 3; 303, 8.

¹⁰⁴ F. 648; E. 870; E. 963 (6 instances); C. 1056; E. 1075; E. 1086; E. 1095; E. 1137 (4 instances); E. 1140 (2 instances); E. 1154.

examples from the *Chronicles*, seventeen come from the late Laud MS.; thirteen are found after the entry for 1056 (six of the eight of earlier record than 1056 are used in the entry for the year 963, a full and easily written narrative); and seven uses are after the 1131 break in the composition of the Laud Ms.

The notion 'create,' the notion 'build,' are generally expressed in Old English writing by *wyrcan*, *(ge)sceapan*, *aræran*, and *(ge)timbrian*. *Facere* in the general sense 'make' is usually translated by one of these verbs, while in the causative sense, it is turned by *don*, *lætan*, or *hatan*.

In a causative sense *macian* is found in very few instances in the Old English written record. *Cura Pastoralis* furnishes one example;¹⁰⁶ Volume I of Ælfric's *Homilies*, one;¹⁰⁶ Wulfstan's *Homilies*, two;¹⁰⁷ the *Pentateuch*, two.¹⁰⁸ Of the twenty-one uses of *macian* in the *Chronicles*, only three are of causative meaning.¹⁰⁹

No examples occur in the Old English written record, so far as I know, of an infinitive construction after *macian*. I have found nothing to contradict the statement of the *New English Dictionary* that the earliest use of the verb with an infinitive is to be found in the *Lambeth Homilies* (ca. 1175).¹¹⁰ After the few instances of causative *macian* in the record may be found a *þæt*-clause;¹¹¹ an object and an object complement;¹¹² and an object plus a *to*-prepositional phrase.¹¹³

5. Other Verbs.

There remain for slight notice a few other verbs, of small consequence in later causative use, found sparingly employed as causatives in Old English writing. Of these it will be well to mention:

¹⁰⁶ Cited by Wülffing, *op. cit.*, II, 90; see also I, 97.

¹⁰⁶ 6, 11.

¹⁰⁷ 54, 5; 98, 25.

¹⁰⁸ *Gen.*, xii, 2; *Ex.*, v, 21.

¹⁰⁹ F. 870; E. 963; E. 1075.

¹¹⁰ Case cited also by Oliphant, *op. cit.*, 226. Eikenkel (*Streifzüge durch die M. H. Syntax*, p. 236) refers the first use of "pure" infinitive after *macen* to Layamon.

¹¹¹ *Chronicles*, F. 870 and E. 1075; the two examples cited above from Ælfric and Wulfstan.

¹¹² *Chronicles*, E. 963; *Genesis*, xii, 2.

Biegan, which as a causative is sometimes found, followed by an object and a *to*-prepositional phrase,¹¹³ and once at least by an infinitive.¹¹⁴

Berenian, 'arrange, cause,' which is apparently a lexical word. See Bosworth-Toller.

Bringan, which is found in collision with a *þæt*-clause;¹¹⁵ with an object plus an attributive participle;¹¹⁶ and with a *to*-prepositional phrase.¹¹⁷

*Wyrca*n, which is recorded a few times in causative use.¹¹⁸ In at least one instance an infinitive follows *wyrca*n, where it translates *facere* plus an infinitive.¹¹⁹ With a following clause I have not found the verb, but I have noted a following object and objective complement,¹²⁰ and an object plus a *to*-prepositional phrase.¹²¹

In the Old English written record are found several verbs of *implied* causation, verbs which express an instigation to action exerted upon an agent actor but which do not represent the action as having been completed. Verbs of this sort are *mannian*, 'suggest,' exhort'; *eggian*, 'egg, incite'; *bescufan*, 'impel'; *sprytan*, 'incite'; *tihtan*, 'exhort.'

Bringing about an action through an unwilling agent is usually represented in the Old English record by *niedan*. Grades of emphasis of the causative element are well illustrated by the following climactic sentence from Wulfstan's *Homilies*:¹²² *þa he wile þreatian and ægeslice wyldan and earmlice þingan . . . and neodunga nydan þæt he . . .* Fading of the compulsory sense in *niedan* is shown by its convertible use with *don* in the translation

¹¹³ See Wülffing, *op. cit.*, II, 215; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 362, 34.

¹¹⁴ *Psalms*, 143, 14, cited by Callaway, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹¹⁵ *Salamon and Saturn*, 31-32.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 174-175.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹¹⁸ Gothic uses *gawaurkjan* as a causative with a following infinitive; as, *Mark*, 3, 14; *Luke*, 9, 14. See appended tables below. O. S. *giuuirkean* with object and objective complement is found in the *Heliand* (for example, 161, 2108).

¹¹⁹ *Lindisfarne Gospel*, *Luke*, 5, 34.

¹²⁰ *Genesis*, 254; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 254, 8; I, 482, 19.

¹²¹ *John*, 10, 33; Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 163, 2.

¹²² 84, 19-21.

of *cogis* in Metrum 5, Bk. I of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by *gedest* in the Old English prose translation and by *genedest* in the poetical version.

The normal construction after the verb is a *þæt*-clause.¹²³ It is followed also by an object plus a *to*-prepositional phrase, and, in one or two instances, by an infinitive. Of the last use Callaway¹²⁴ cites *Mark*, 6, 45 as an example. *Cura Pastoralis*¹²⁵ presents an example of a following inflected infinitive. In Middle English, *neden* shares in the movement toward the infinitive short-cut, along with *don*, *macian*, and other verbs that are clause bound in Old English writing.

Comparatively small use was made in the Old English written record of the three causative form-words—*don*, *lætan*, *macian*—which in Middle English writing find wide employment in this function and continue so to be used until toward the end of the period, when *make(n)* is fixed as the general causative, when *do(n)* sheds its causative use for its heavy task of tense formation, and *lete(n)* practically loses its causative function for its particularization as a subjunctive auxiliary. Of these three verbs, *macian*, the most common in Modern English, is most sparsely represented in Old English writing. An account of the behavior of these words in the language material lying between Old and Modern English will soon be given in an article on Middle English causatives. This paper has, it is hoped, at least cleared the way for presenting that study.

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¹²³ *Luke*, 14, 23. Here and elsewhere (*Gal.*, 6, 12 for example) Gothic puts an infinitive after *naupan*.

¹²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹²⁵ 302, 19.

Studies in Philology

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MONTAIGNE DIFFERENTIA

BY MAUD ELIZABETH TEMPLE

The clouds are on the Oberland,
The Jungfrau snows look faint and far,
But bright are those green fields at hand,
And through those fields comes down the Aar.

There used to be current in Cambridge a story, true I hope, of Mr. Lowell's definition for the class in Government of the rare species, philosophers. For the youths about to read the prescribed portions of Plato and Aristotle, it may have cleared the ground to have the concrete example presented, "A philosopher is Mr. Santayana; we have him here, across the street from my house, to write beautiful books to tell later ages what we are like now,—you and me."

It was at some generations removed from Cambridge—back somewhere on the confines of the Wars of Religion in a region that some penetrating spirits from the Yard have tended to envisage as ballad-land for the sudden motor quality of its reactions to differences of opinion,—that I had to consider the genus, philosopher, as represented by Montaigne, with a body of young women also all in their eighteenth or nineteenth year. The circumstances of somewhat complex duty had made me accept this charge. French Canadians abound in the region and it was hoped that some might be persuaded, as happened, to enter the War. It was also hoped that the young women who had "taken" French might be a little more clever in dealing with them, if French authors were made to appear less strange than worth while. What, then, was my sense of confusion, when after quite an orgy of sermons, in which Pessimism was set up before us as a Latin bogey,

or a moral Tam O'Lin, given to devouring the young descendants of those who had tried their hand at a little witch burning, Montaigne was turned over to us with the label, pessimist, firmly affixed. Moreover, with the help of this label, and a sort of sausage-link diagram arrangement of the devious ways of the Renaissance and Reformation, I was to obtain in some six weeks' time a paper or report from these classes including the Apology of Raimond Sébond!

If my previous farings had disposed me to a very moderate gratitude for these leading strings, once the first sense of the comic about them had worn off a little, I did have my own sense of obligation, and indeed of privilege in presenting Montaigne to youth on any terms. It seemed to me that from Emerson to Pierre Villey a good many clever people had been working to help us understand him. And in spite of these quaint survivals I had to deal with there was the hope that with some tact and candor a few traits might be presented which would not be belied, or even seem to be, by later profane studies in which the young women might indulge.

If I read, then, certain well-worn passages from *Representative Men* to start with, and with lively appreciation renewed, the volumes of Miss Norton and Professor Strowski, I also set myself at the texts that were indicated with as much fresh concern for the virgin soil before me as possible, as I marked the texts. What, after all, were the indubitable and salient facts about this "pessimist" or whatever,—what we like to call the essentials?

May I summarize very briefly, then, the impression I thus received and tried to convey? I found myself, on the simple approach, as convinced as I had been with what we call the 'research' one I had made hitherto, that the Neo-Platonic atmosphere of the second half of the sixteenth century is the natural background for Montaigne. On the broadest basis of explanation we have a man concerned like Plato and his disciples with politics and ideas together, in relation with both private ethics and public duty. If any modern books are significant in his connection they would seem to be, not so much any particular volumes called *Essays* before his own as the *Dialectique* and *Gramère* of Ramus, and the printed volumes of the political theorists of the same generation as Raimond Sébond which about this time begin to appear.

That is to say, Montaigne really existed in a circumambient atmosphere of the Neo-Platonic speculation which had come down like the Rhone in its underground passage from Classical times to his own. I say Neo-Platonic in the literal sense of the term, for the new Platonism that he approaches, like many other moments of it through the Middle Ages, is often singularly and freshly Platonic. It is not Plotinian, I mean, not esoteric, and in the more usual sense, mystical, so much as it is a kind of creative imitation of Plato himself, and of his authentic disciples like Plutarch. Montaigne, like his mediæval predecessors, perhaps among them Sébond himself, is imitating the Dialogues and Plutarch's *Morals* at once? The number of specific citations and references, however interesting, may be of less critical value than some few peculiarly forceful allusions and tricks of manner, or some more or less hidden inspiration, susceptible of sympathetic rather than external detection. We may call this psychology or tact according to the situation, and none of us has ever too much if we use all we have.

In the Preface to Faguet's 16th Century, which is so rare an example of this quality, there is in especial one bit of analysis which we need to lay hold on firmly in Montaigne's connection, not only because or if we are addressing ourselves in America to non-Latin minds, for the most part, to descendants of Puritan romantics, in the majority:

. . . L'humaniste a deux hommes en lui, l'un pour lui et l'autre pour l'art, l'un qui est chrétien, qui est Parisian, qui va à Notre-Dame, qui aime son roi et qui aime sa femme; l'autre qui est païen, qui est Romain, qui adore Jupiter, qui est républicain, et qui aime Glycère; et que le premier vit la vie pratique, et que le second écrit, et que le second ne met dans ses écrits rien ou presque rien du premier. Et, ceci reconnu, la conséquence qu'en en tire est curieuse.

"Curious," the word has long seemed appropriate to the Essays. May not one aspect of that blend or antimony be with Montaigne his purpose, but half avowed from the modesty before antiquity which goes with the Renaissance pride before the scholastics, to construct some such new philosophic mirror as Plato's, and how many through the Middle Ages! reflecting the highest criticism of his time? The place of Etienne de la Boétie in the Essays as a kind of Socrates to his Plato seems to me to emerge from such a consideration, in his work and art at least analogous. The

Essays may thus appear somewhat akin to the amazing monuments of the same generation,—the tomb of the Cardinals d'Amboise at Rouen, for example, in which the fine portrait statues appear against such a medley of mediæval symbols classicised. The actual place and proportion of the pages devoted to his friend by Montaigne is comparable, as it may appear with reflection not dissimilar to that occupied by the group of the *Apology*, the *Crito* and the *Phaedo* among the Platonic dialogues. Like the famous statue of Diane de Poitiers at Blois what we have perhaps to consider is a piece of eulogistic poetry celebrating intellectual passion, symbolizing an ethico-political ideal, for the present, and a bit of the most gifted humanistic scholarly taste. As research has shown no occasion for a state of puritanic shock in Henri's relation to Diane, so perhaps with Montaigne's to Etienne de la Boëtie the personal element is the least important, though it has now and then been the most stressed. Faguet's analysis is valuable. "Because it was he, because it was myself" may mean really, "Because he had written the *Contre Un* in which there is for me opened up a whole vista of politico-psychologic reflection." Duly introduced by other essays as the Socratic biographic dialogues appear, the *De l'amitié* is placed by Montaigne.

As the diversity of sixteenth century France was unlike the State uniformity of Greece in education, he is obliged to spend more time than Plato or Plutarch in explaining that his training is not ill-suited to the task as witness for his age, it then seems to follow. In the *Institution des Enfants* we have not merely the pendant to Rabelais and his *Republic*, we have a more sober original imitation, Plato modified by Plutarch and more practical possibility. More practical, but yet so far imaginative, that we have to question Faguet's contrast between Rabelais and Montaigne, as the one Greek, the other Latin, unless Graeco-Latin be substituted for the latter term.

As such must surely be regarded the keynote passage, as it seems to me of the *Institution*, and, if there be one, for the *Essays* as a whole:

Ce qu'on sçait droictement on en dispose, sans regarder au patron, sans tourner les yeux vers son livre. Facheuse suffisance, qu'une suffisance pure livresque! Je n'attends qu'elle serve d'ornement, non de fondement, suyvant l'advis de Platon, qui dict: "La fermeté, la foy, la

sincérité, estre la vraye philosophie: les aultres sciences et qui visent ailleurs n'estre que fard."

The ideal preceptor for Montaigne was just that antiquity "to whose honor," he, no less than all the great mediæval writers and the men of the seventeenth century, was trying to approach. The better we know both these and the classics, then, the better we shall understand him, not forgetting the vast array of critical-encyclopædic writing extending from Plato actually to Littré,—and since. It has never lacked originality, the results of personal study, which is as astonishing in many mediæval glosses and directions to the clergy as it is in the famous *Apology*, or Montesquieu, or Renan, and Augustine and Origen. Gloss or confession or treatise, the common bond is critical, and usually politic psychology.

Reading thus a little, late or early, or late and early, we shall be little prone to pigeon-hole Montaigne under any facile modern ethical label: we shall be none too sure of even his skepticism.¹ Of his intelligence we shall be surer, in both the Platonic and the everyday sense.

Hartford, Connecticut.

¹ Cf. "Histoire religieuse de France": Georges Goyau (*Histoire de la Nation Française*, tome VI, p. 122):

"'Rome mérite qu'on l'aime, confédérée de si longtemps et par tant de titres à notre couronne,' ces mots sont d'un sceptique, Montaigne."

The sense attached to Rome by Montaigne in this connection may be open to various interpretation, but accepting it as M. Goyau does for the See of St. Peter and the Papacy, we have occasion to recall again Faguet's analysis.

PLATO'S VIEW OF THE IMAGINATION

BY MURRAY W. BUNDY

In the Dialogues of Plato there are utterances concerning the 'imagination' as significant and as important in their implications for later theory as anything in the comparable views of Aristotle. Yet it is the conception of the latter which was from the first the object of careful exposition, and which came down through the Middle Ages as the accepted tradition. The reasons for this comparative neglect of Plato are not far to seek. The directness of Aristotle's method in comparison with the subtle art of the Dialogues rendered the views of the former much easier of comprehension. Much of the suggestiveness of the Platonic conception, one fears, has been lost through lack of sympathy with the artistic purposes of the philosopher-poet. To recover some of that suggestiveness, to see some of the implications of Plato for later thought, is the purpose of the present study.

Our task is rendered the more difficult by the fact that the dialogue as a species of drama is capable of representing a unified action—in this instance the development of a philosophical system—having beginning, middle, and end. Plato through his artistic medium may be representing the drama of reflective thought as it passes through intermediary stages to arrive at its artistic solution. To many a good student of Plato it has not seemed unreasonable to believe that the Dialogues represent the growth of a philosophy. Much, then, depends upon the proper order. For this investigation it has seemed best to accept, tentatively at least, Lutosławski's¹ arrangement, in which the writings are divided into four groups: an early Socratic group; an early Platonic group, including of the Dialogues which concern us the *Cratylus* and the *Symposium*; a middle Platonic group, containing the greater part of the *Republic*, the *Phaedrus*, and the *Theaetetus*; and a final group in which the *Sophist*, *Philebus*, and *Timaeus* find place.

¹ See Lutosławski, *The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*, 1897, Chapter 2; for convenience see J. A. Stewart, *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*. Oxford, 1909, pp. 14-15.

Acceptance of this order would point to the fact that the earliest Dialogues involve none of the problems with which *φαντασία* and *εἰκασία* are concerned. With the period of 'Early Platonism' there comes a distinct doctrine of ideas as 'absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting.' At this point Plato seems to have been so far in sympathy with the view attributed to Parmenides that he conceived of reality as not only above but entirely separate from sensible experience. In this view knowledge was altogether divorced from opinion. This position he seems to have modified by the time of the *Republic*; because he saw that no philosophy could be satisfactory which insisted upon the reality of the Absolute as opposed to the Relative, of the One as opposed to the Many, and of Knowledge as opposed to Opinion. He was forced to give up the old monism, and to face certain very apparent paradoxes,—quite unintelligible to a consistent Parmenidean. Not the least important of these was the statement that there could be a true opinion. Finally, in the last Dialogues he seems to have fully recognized that the unideal, the relative, the particular, and the sensible were realities which demanded explanation as well as the ideal, the absolute, the general, and the immaterial. All of these notions must be included in his final belief. Thus he was led to institute a critical philosophy, which, in the light of these facts, profoundly modified the earlier belief, and issued in the well-tempered views of the *Timaeus*, the *Critias*, and the *Laws*.

In the early 'Socratic' Dialogues there is no theory of imagination. Not until we come to the *Cratylus* and the *Symposium* is there a definite attitude towards 'phantasies' and 'images'—an attitude quite in keeping with an early belief in the Eleatic notion of Absolute Being. Even here the utterances do not imply conscious theory. In the *Cratylus* the Platonic Socrates insists that the function of a name, like the function of a painting, is to render, though by different means, an imitation of the thing;² and he who by syllables and letters imitates the nature of things, if he gives all that is appropriate, will produce a good image (*εἰκών*), or, in other words, a name.³ But Socrates, quite in sym-

² 430 B; B. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, Third ed., 5 vol., Oxford, 1892, 1. 376. Hereafter referred to as Jowett.

³ 431 C; Jowett, 1. 378.

pathy with the Eleatic doctrine, insists that the analogy of painting shows the limitation of names: for drawing, painting, and music, as imitations concerned with form and sound, and color, cannot be concerned also with the essences of each thing.⁴ Only a god could create an image, or portrait, which, transcending the limits of form and color, would imitate also the inward organization of the man, thus reproducing internal as well as external qualities.⁵ The images both of the painter and of the one who gives names to things come far from reproducing their originals; for God alone can create the true form of things.⁶ It is for man, then, not 'to learn of the image, whether the image and the truth of which the image is the expression have been rightly conceived [lit. 'imaged' *εἰκασται*], [but] to learn of the truth whether the truth and the image of it have been duly executed.'⁷ 'Knowledge of things is not to be derived from names'—or, Plato might have added, from the images of the fine arts. 'Let us seek the true beauty, not asking whether a particular face is fair, for all such things appear to be in a flux.'⁸ Plato at this point could hardly have held an exalted view of the rôle of imagination in the fine arts.

His early conception of 'phantasies' is equally unconstructive. It is natural that this attack upon the particular and the material should have been closely connected with a similar attack upon the Protagorean doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. It is with such an attack that the dialogue begins and ends. 'Things are not relative to individuals,' says Socrates, but 'must be supposed to have their own proper and permanent essence: they are not in relation to us, or influenced by us, fluctuating according to our fancy [*ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῷ ἡμετέρῳ φαντάσματι*].'⁹

That his attack upon 'phantasies' is of a piece with his discussion of 'images' is evident when we connect this first discussion of relativity with the last growing immediately out of his consideration of 'images.' A particular portrait, he had said, could never reproduce internal qualities by means of 'images.' One must seek true beauty, and not ask whether a particular face is fair, for all such things appear to be in a flux. 'Can we rightly

⁴ 423 D, E, 424 A; Jowett, 1. 369.

⁵ 432 B; Jowett, 1. 378-9.

⁶ 432 C.

⁷ 439 A; Jowett, 1. 387.

⁸ 439 D.

⁹ 386 E; Jowett, 1. 326-7.

speak of a beauty which is always passing away, and is first this and then that? . . . Nor can we reasonably say that there is knowledge at all, if everything is in a state of transition and there is nothing abiding. . . . If . . . the beautiful and the good . . . exist, then I do not think that they can resemble a process or flux.' ¹⁰ The Parmenidean belief in an Absolute Beauty and an Absolute Good constituted for Plato the antidote to a dangerous doctrine of relativity and of materialism. An early doctrine of relativity accepted implicitly the truth of phantasies; and the consequent materialism accepts the truth of material images. Plato in attacking the underlying theory denies at this stage in his thought the reality of these images and phantasies.

A casual reference to *φαντασία* in the *Symposium* seems to confirm this interpretation. Attacking both materialism and relativity, the *Symposium* stands in much the same relation to the fine arts as the *Cratylus* to dialectic. In that famous passage concerning the ideal poet who has had adequate instruction in abstract love and beauty, Socrates quotes Diotima as saying: 'He will have a view of an everlasting rather than a changing nature, not one fair from one point of view, foul from another, nor will he fancy [*φαντασθήσεται*] the beautiful as a face or hands or any other part of the body.' ¹¹

These are, so far as we are aware, the first occurrences of the terms in the theory of fine art. They come in connection with a 'prima philosophia' inimicable to a constructive theory of fine art as having certain necessary bases in material reality. Hence there is no place either for a theory of imitation or for a theory of symbolism in the light of which our terms become the staple of criticism. At this point Plato could not have had constructive theories of 'fancy' and 'imagination.'

This early phase of Plato's thought also results in a denial of a divine art of 'phantasy.' In *Republic II* Socrates asks whether God is a magician 'and of a nature to appear [*φαντάζεσθαι*] now in one shape and now in another.' ¹² This question is suggested by the practice of the poets in representing the gods as assuming many shapes. Socrates answers that 'it is impossible that God

¹⁰ 439 D-440 B; Jowett, 1, 387-8.

¹¹ 211 A.

¹² 380 D; Jowett, 3. 63.

should ever be willing to change.' 'Can you imagine that God will be willing to lie, whether in word or deed, or to put forth a phantom [φάντασμα] of himself?'¹³ 'He is perfectly simple and true both in word and deed; he changes not; he deceives not, [either by phantasies] or by sign or word, by dream or waking vision.'¹⁴ The phantasy has as little to do with divine activity as with human.

It is a fact, however, that man is deceived by phantasies, by false appearances. To that extent phantasies are real. In consequence we find Plato modifying his uncompromising idealism to account for them. Gradually a dualism comes to take the place of this early monism inherited from Parmenides: by the side of the genuine world of immutable ideas he is willing to recognize the existence of a realm of shadows and impressions. When he takes that step in the development of his thought, he has recourse to an analysis of the functioning of the mind. Psychology takes the place of the old theology. It is true that Plato is still interested primarily in the ideal and the immaterial; but an important step has been taken in the history of our terms when 'phantasy' is thought of as a mental function, even though it is assigned to the lower part of our nature. It is by one's rational powers that one attains vision of absolute beauty. Hence before one is to have such vision in sleep, appetite and passion, residing in the irrational part, must be allayed. Only then can reason attain truth most nearly, for only then are the deceptions of dreams least likely to be fancied (καὶ ἥκιστα παράνομοι τότε αἱ ὄψεις φαντάζονται τῶν ἐνυπνίων).¹⁵ Here is, indeed, no high conception of 'phantasy'; but here is at least the conception of a real mental function capable of analysis, and from the outset connected with man's appetite and feelings.

In the sixth and seventh books of the *Republic* one finds conceptions of 'phantasy' and 'imagination' much in advance of the earlier views. We have already glanced at a passage in *Republic IX* (probably earlier than intermediate portions of the Dialogue) in which the process of 'phantasying' is regarded as real, although assigned to the functions of the lower soul. In *Republic VI*, as

¹³ 381 E; Jowett, 3. 65.

¹⁴ 382 E; Jowett, 3. 67; Jowett omits κατὰ φαντασίας.

¹⁵ 571 E, 572 A; Jowett, 3. 281.

psychology comes to take the place of the early metaphysic—or theology—there is found a constructive view of ‘phantasy’ and ‘imagination’ involving their relation to other mental powers, and their bearing upon the problem of knowledge. Not only is the existence of two worlds recognized, but by means of this psychology a definite relation is established between them. This is the foundation of Plato’s constructive view of the fine arts, and of the rôle of ‘phantasy’ and ‘imagination’; for only when he took into account the shifting phenomena of nature, as well as absolute, unchanging ideality, was he able to consider the poet’s media of expression; and only when he considered as matter for psychology the fact that man had a faculty of opinions as well as a faculty of knowledge properly so-called, could he consider in all its aspects the poet’s power of conception.

Here, as in the earlier Dialogues, Plato continues to attach primary importance to the realm of Being, rather than to that of Becoming. The soul for him is like the eye: ‘when resting upon that on which truth and being shine, the soul perceives and understands, and is radiant with intelligence; but when turned towards the twilight of becoming and perishing, then she has opinion only, and goes blinking about, and is first of one opinion and then of another, and seems to have no intelligence.’¹⁶ Plato thus insists that truth is a matter of right vision, and is the first, so far as we know, to talk about the eye of the mind. At this point in his thought, however, the imagination could hardly be regarded as such an eye; rather, the powers which are our present concern seem to be hindrances to spiritual vision. But his study of psychology was to lead to new conclusions.

He asks the reader to think of these two worlds—the one of Ideas, and the other of material objects—under the figure of a line equally divided, one portion to be called ‘intellectual,’ the other ‘visible.’¹⁷ Each part in turn is to be divided into similarly unequal parts. One portion of the line of the ‘visible’ will represent everything that grows or is made; while the other will stand for their images (*eikónes*). These may be of two types: shadows (*σκιάς*), or phantasms (*φαντάσματα*) such as one sees

¹⁶ 508 D; Jowett, 3. 209.

¹⁷ 509 D; Jowett, 3. 211.

either in water or in mirrors. Here the images are distinctly resemblances of material reality. Of the three types mentioned, two, carefully distinguished from shadows, are called specifically 'phantasms.' These 'phantasms' are thus a sub-division of the general class, 'images.' All of these stand in the relation to 'things' as the sphere of opinion to the sphere of knowledge.

Of the other part of the line 'there are two sub-divisions, in the lower of which the soul uses the figures given by the former division [i. e. of things] as images; the enquiry can only be hypothetical, and instead of going upwards to a principle descends to the other end; in the higher of the two, the soul passes out of hypotheses, and goes up to a principle which is above hypotheses, making no use of images as in the former case, but proceeding only in and through the ideas themselves.'¹⁸

'And now corresponding to these four divisions, let there be four faculties in the soul—reason [*νόησιν*] answering to the highest, understanding [*διάνοιαν*] to the second, faith (or conviction) [*πίστιν*] to the third, and imagination [*εἰκασίαν*]¹⁹ to the last.'²⁰

It is evident that Plato's psychology is based upon his dualism. His first term, *νόησις*, denotes the power by which one has insight, an intuition of Ideas, and thus is the faculty of knowledge in the highest sense. His third term, *πίστις*, represents a mental function which in the earlier Dialogues could hardly have been recognized, because it involves the acceptance of a world of 'things' about which one may have only opinion instead of knowledge.²¹ Plato evidently implies the logical proportion: reason, the power of contemplating Ideas, stands to faith, the power of looking at the phenomenal world, as understanding (*διάνοια*), the capacity for scientific knowledge, stands to imagination (*εἰκασία*), the power of making shadows, or of framing conjectures, concerning the universe of 'things'; or, again, as scientific knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*) is to opinion. The last two pairs of terms, stand, as we shall see, in especially close relation.

The second power, *διάνοια*, and the fourth, *εἰκασία*, are both con-

¹⁸ 510 B; Jowett, 3. 211.

¹⁹ Jowett translates: 'perceptions of shadows.'

²⁰ 511 D-E; Jowett, 3. 213.

²¹ *ἐπιστήμη*, the result of *διάνοια*.

cerned with images. For each of the two realms of Being and of Becoming Plato has a theory of imagination. There may be an imagination of Ideas, and an imagination of material objects, an activity concerned with knowledge, and a corresponding activity concerned only with opinion. There will be dianoetic images connected with scientific knowledge in the same way that there are simple images connected with opinion.

About images of this first type Plato has much to say. The rough representation of a triangle which the mathematician draws to aid him in his thought is a good example of the material image in the service of the scientific understanding.²² This image is not identical with the shadow or the phantasm in the water or in the mirror, enumerated as types of *εἰκασία*. In this case, while it is true that one is making use of visible forms, one is thinking, not of these, but of the ideals which they resemble; ²³ not of the figures actually drawn (e. g. three lines in chalk), but of the absolute square and the absolute diameter, the mental concept. These higher images differ from those in the lower sphere of vision mainly in their higher purpose, the quest of a suprasensible reality. Essentially they belong to the lower realm of change and opinion. But whereas in simple imagination (*εἰκασία*) the aim is merely to reproduce the material object, in the higher sphere the lower world of phenomena furnishes the material out of which the understanding constructs schematic images in order to arrive at scientific truth.

This conception applied to fine art might have resulted in a theory of symbolism. This, indeed, could not have led to poetry of the highest sort, for the loftiest art for Plato was that described in the *Symposium*, where the poet, impelled by love, will have eyes to see the true beauty, the divine beauty, 'pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colors and vanities of human life.' 'Beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities.'²⁴ Art of this type is as high above art dependent upon concrete representations as the realm of Ideas is above that of scientific generalization,—as *νόησις* is above *διάνοια*.

²² 510 C; Jowett, 3. 212.

²³ 510 D.

²⁴ 211 D-212 A; Jowett, 1. 582.

Such art has no need of 'imagination' in any sense in which Plato has yet defined it.

But even in the *Symposium* it seems as if there is place for this higher type of imagination just described. For there 'the true order of going . . . is to begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only.'²⁵ Surely the use of the image in the service of the understanding would have constituted no unimportant step. But neither in the *Symposium* nor in the *Republic* is there an explicit theory of the symbolic imagination in fine art. The materials, however, for such a theory were at hand. It is alone surprising that the scientist and the mathematician had been specifically recognized as men of imagination before the painter and the poet. The latter were still concerned with that lower kind of image-making, *eikasia*, rather than with the creation of images in the service of conceptual thought.

In the allegorical myth immediately following this description, at the beginning of Book VII, it is the artist who is contemplated throughout in the account of the worker in *eikasia*, making likenesses of material objects. 'And do you see, I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels and statues and figures of animals made of wood and stone and various materials. . . ?'²⁶ The activity of the sculptor thus becomes the type of the lowest art. Judged by the Socratic ideal, a person pleased with such shadows has no true vision. 'The truth would be literally nothing but the shadows of the images.'²⁷ 'As being is to becoming, so is pure intellect to opinion. And as intellect is to opinion, so is science to belief, and understanding to imagination [*eikasia*].'²⁸

The first impulse of the disciple of Parmenides is to deny that the world of sense-impressions exists, and hence to regard phantasies and images as unreal. Once it is seen, however, that the world of things cannot be so easily ignored, the next impulse is to substitute a dualism in which the two realms are sharply divorced. Then comes the attempt to bring them together, to explain one in terms of the other. Of this impulse Plato seems to give evidence in the *Symposium*. In *Republic VI-VII*, however, is the first

²⁵ 211 C; Jowett, 1. 581.

²⁶ 514 E; Jowett, 3. 214.

²⁷ 515 C; Jowett, 3. 215.

²⁸ 534 A; Jowett, 3. 237.

significant attempt to bridge the gulf,—and, especially significant for us, in terms of ‘imagination.’ It is important that Plato’s psychology led him to assert that things could constitute for conceptual thought images of the higher realm of ideas. It is no great step to the position that the world of phenomena is an image of this ideal world.

But such a theory—especially in its bearing on fine art—he is not ready to espouse. He insists, rather, throughout the *Republic* upon the transcendental character of Ideas. It is this dualism which is at the bottom of his attack upon the poets and painters in the tenth book. In the ideal state poetry is to have no place, for ‘all poetical imitations are ruinous to the understanding of the hearers. . . . The knowledge of their true nature is the only antidote to them.’²⁹ It is the aim of Socrates to show that they are not concerned with Ideas, the object of *νόησις*, but with this lowest type of *εἰκασία*. This he proposes to do through a discussion of creative or poetic art in general. God creates in the highest sense when he brings into being the idea e. g. of bed.³⁰ This is clearly in the realm of *νόησις*. Now the carpenter can make a particular bed ‘in accordance with the idea,’ i. e. in keeping with his power to comprehend the general notion of bed; ‘but no artificer makes the ideas themselves.’³¹ This activity is clearly in the realm in which faith was said to operate; the artisan creates a material thing, which is only an image of a higher idea. A third class, however, comes forward, claiming to be creators in that they proclaim themselves capable of all the works of the other workmen, ‘not only vessels of every kind, but plants and animals, himself and all other things—the earth and heaven, and the things which are in heaven or under the earth; he makes the gods also.’³² This can be done merely by turning a mirror around and around.³³ Through such a process of *μίμησης* they too claim to be creators.

But this painter, or sculptor—or poet,—especially if he be a dramatic poet,—would be a maker of appearances only.³⁴ Even the carpenter, for all his labor, could not make the idea which is

²⁹ 595 B; Jowett, 3. 307.

³⁰ 596 C.

³¹ 597 B; Jowett, 3. 309.

³² 596 D.

³³ 596 B; Jowett, 3. 308.

³⁴ 596 E; Jowett, 3. 309.

the essence of the bed, but only a particular bed; his work was 'an indistinct expression of truth.'³⁵ How much less claim, then, has the painter to the designation of 'creator' (*δημιουργόν*), or even to that of 'poet' (*ποιητήν*).³⁶ Rather, both he and the tragic poet are imitators 'thrice removed from the king and from the truth.'³⁷ Thus the plastic arts and the drama in particular are to be censured as species of imitation, i. e. dealing with images or faint reflections of truth rather than with truth itself, with products of imagination rather than with ideas.

It is apparent that Plato has had in mind throughout the discussion the psychology of Book VI, and that he here deals with at least three of the four functions therein described. God's creative activity is the result of Divine Intelligence, to which man's highest capacity, *νόησις*, at least faintly corresponds. It is the creative function analogous to the highest capacity for knowledge, the contemplation of God's creation in its eternal nature. The human 'maker' works in a realm imitative of this higher realm, that in which *πίστις* is the chief faculty. The painter and the poet, imitating only the creations of others, concerned with the image of an image, are clearly in the realm of *εἰκασία*.³⁸ Their imitations constitute image-making of this most material type, 'imagination' in its most literal sense. The plastic artists in general are thus seemingly depreciated as imitative or imaginative. The latter term suggests in Greek as well as in English 'the idea of a solid body—of "images" in the sense of the plaster-cast cry about the streets.'³⁹ These artists are makers of likenesses rather than contemplators of eternal ideas.

But a still more serious charge was to be brought against painting in particular—and, we may add, the plastic arts in general, and poetry as it is comparable. The painter, says Socrates, deals in 'phantasy' as well as in 'imagination.'

Plato makes nice use of the two terms. When he speaks of an

³⁵ 597 A.

³⁶ 597 D; Jowett, 3. 310.

³⁷ 597 E.

³⁸ One might also have added by way of anticipation that the function of *διάνοια* would be represented in the constructive scientist who studies phenomena in order to 'create' a general law.

³⁹ Leigh Hunt, *What is Poetry?* ed. by A. S. Cook, p. 33.

image, he is thinking of the correspondence of the likeness to the original, whether idea or material object. Thus the carpenter's bed and the picture of the bed are both images, although the former product is not brought under the term *εἰκασία*. His use of the terms *φαντασία* and *φάντασμα*, on the other hand, implies no necessary reference to an original, certainly never to one which is immaterial. Thus the artisan's bed may be called an 'image' but never a 'phantasm.' For these terms properly suggest the picture set up in the mind as the result of sensation, the individual appearance or impression, sometimes with no reference to its validity, often with a strong presumption of its unreliability. Thus reflections in the water and in mirrors are 'phantasies'; there is no assurance that the reflections are true, or that they will produce the same impressions in different individuals. They are in these respects typical of our mental processes; but they are also images of the external world. Hence the term 'phantasies,' comprehending for the most part these lower 'images,' could be used for the class as a whole, especially when one did not have in mind the correspondence to an original. Thus, although 'phantasies' belong under the general term 'images,' it is natural that the former should in the thought of Plato—and in Greek thought in general—come to be used as the comprehensive term.

Added impulse was given to this tendency when Socrates charged the painter with laboring in the field of 'phantasy.' He deals with objects, not as they are, but as they appear. To explain:

You may look at a bed from different points of view, obliquely or directly or from any other point of view, and the bed will appear different, but there is no difference in reality. And the same of all things.

Yes, he said, the difference is only apparent.

Now let me ask you another question: Which is the art of painting designed to be—an imitation of things as they are, or as they appear—of appearance [*φαντάσματος*] or of reality?

Of appearance.*

The charge against the painter—and the sculptor and the dramatist—is that through phantasy they become subjective artists. Not only are they concerned with material objects rather than with ideas, but they insist upon reproducing this material world from

* 598 B; Jowett, 3. 311.

their peculiar point of view. 'Imagination' leads the artist to deal with the material, the changing, the objects of opinion. 'Phantasy' leads him to an error still more serious: to deal with the individual and the relative. He is by so much farther from the absolute, unchanging ideal.

And the same objects appear straight when looked at out of the water, and crooked when in the water; ^a and the concave becomes convex, owing to the illusion about colors to which sight is liable. Thus every sort of confusion is revealed within us; and this is that weakness of the human mind on which the art of conjuring and of deceiving by light and shadow and other ingenious devices imposes, having an effect upon us like magic.^a

By 'phantasy' the vision of the artist is liable to be distorted. For 'phantasy' is prey to all those influences symbolized by the deceptive surface of the water, where a ripple is likely at any moment to distort the reflection, or by the relatively imperfect mirrors of the time, in a word, by man's lower appetitive nature. It will be remembered that Plato had already placed 'phantasy' in the irrational soul, the seat of the appetites and passions.

Moreover, the artist pursues his work with neither real knowledge nor true opinion about the goodness or badness of his imitations. He will know little of the art of healing or horsemanship when writing of these.

And still he will go on imitating without knowing what makes a thing good or bad, and may be expected therefore to imitate only that which appears to be good to the ignorant multitude.^a

Such in its relation to the theory of 'phantasy' and 'imagination' is the substance of Plato's attack upon the fine arts, and especially upon dramatic poetry. The strictures, if taken literally, would seem to condemn the art of the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*, and belittle those very powers in virtue of which Plato is a creative artist. One would like to think, rather, that the censure of Homer and his fellow-artists is put into the mouth of Socrates to indicate what logically ought to be said about fine art if the Eleatic doctrine of the One were to be consistently applied. This would make the *Republic*, or at least the tenth book, in part an

^a See above, p. 6.

^a 602 C, D; Jowett, 3. 316.

^a 602 B.

essay in criticism: the Eleatic doctrine fails to offer a satisfactory theory of fine art. Art was condemned by this uncompromising idealism precisely because it worked through 'phantasy' and 'imagination.' Such a view would constitute a *reductio ad absurdum* of the philosophy out of which it grew. An adequate philosophy must explain the activity of the artists rather than deny the reality of their products. Plato was perhaps criticizing a philosophy which he had come to see must be hostile to art because it could recognize neither its materials nor its method.

But Plato's critical philosophy and his art constituted a fine two-edged sword: it could cut in another direction. It is probable that he was hostile to some of the art of his day, and the theory by which it was defended.

The common remark made about Greek art is that it is objective; and it is perfectly natural that objective art should take as its leading critical term 'imitation.' The grave danger, however, with such a theory is that the original of the 'imitation' will not be conceived of as something immaterial and ideal, a vital objective fact in the mind of the poet. In consequence, both theory and practice will tend towards realism, the imitation of the material rather than the spiritual. The old story of the contest of the rival poets is in point: Apelles, thinking that others were to prevail over him through unjust means, caused his own representation of a horse, and those of the rest, to be shown to some horses, who neighed only at his painting. One also recalls the story of the birds and the fruit, and the painted curtain. At least by the time of Alexander the Great a realistic standard was not uncommon.

Nowhere would this drift towards an unideal objectivism be more pronounced than in the drama. Both subject-matter and aim would foster the tendency to regard art as quite literally holding the mirror up to nature. Thus, for instance, Euripides is more realistic than Aeschylus or Sophocles. Against such tendencies Plato's early philosophy and his artistic impulses would have led him to rebel. The so-called polemic of the tenth book may well be a severe arraignment by an idealist both of the theory and the practice of art in his day, pretending to be at times no more than the making of images of the external world. Such art can be concerned only with opinion, with the unreal, with mere

reflections of a universe of particular men and things, with no attempt to reveal the type, the abiding fact underlying all apparent manifestations. Plato was objecting to the 'imagination' of the realist and the materialist, of the 'naturalists' both in drama and in the plastic arts.

He would have included in his attack a movement not so typically Greek, but, if the Sophists had any great influence, one likely to leave its imprint upon the fine arts. For the ideal of Protagoras would easily have led to a theory of subjective art. The highest Greek standard of objectivity—and this is Plato's standard—would have insisted that an imitation is good insofar as it not only chooses the highest object, but also renders of this object the most accurate copy. Realists had been falsely imaginative in their choice of objects. In turn their copies are condemned as fanciful. For poets and painters, and those other artists, the Sophists, allow a personal element to come in, which distorts their vision, thereby rendering the copy inaccurate. The ripple on the surface of the water spoils the reflection. Thus Plato's discussion of 'phantasy' in fine art is his answer to the contention that it is the function of art to reflect the world as it is peculiarly colored by the personality of the artist. Such an artist belonged to the ranks of Protagoras and the other Sophists; he had not yet caught a vision of a world of ideas above and beyond that of particular impressions. He could never be taught by Diotima.

That Plato saw such a significant relation between the doctrine of relativity and a theory of 'phantasies,' causing him to belittle the function of particular impressions in art as in psychology, is confirmed by a passage in the *Theaetetus*:

For if truth is only sensation, and no man can discern another's feelings better than he, or has any superior right to determine whether his phantasies and opinions are true or false, but each . . . is to himself the sole judge, and everything that he judges is true, why, my friend, should Protagoras be preferred to the place of wisdom and instruction, and deserve to be well paid, and we poor ignoramuses have to go to him, if each one is the measure of his own wisdom. The attempt to supervise or refute the notions⁴⁴ or opinions of others would be a tedious and enormous piece of folly, if to each man his own are right.⁴⁵

It is indeed unfortunate that, just as the term 'imagination'

⁴⁴ Literally, *phantasias*.

⁴⁵ 161 D, E; Jowett, 4. 217.

was in Plato's mind bound up with a theory of realistic art, so 'phantasy' should have been connected with a false standard of subjectivity. The necessity for attacking false standards meant also the attacking of the terms through which they were expressed. If the copying of the world of phenomena could be thought of as an act of 'imagination,' and if the relativists were accustomed to speak of the reproducing of objects from one's own point of view as the function of 'phantasy,' then Plato must attack 'imagination' and 'phantasy' as so conceived. If these were the familiar associations of the two terms, it is not unnatural that Plato should have regarded the words as conventional symbols of most unideal activities.

This view a study of the *Sophist* tends to support, for both in method and aim it is complementary to *Republic X*. The ostensible purpose of the latter, we have seen, was to attack Homer and his fellows; but the real aim was, rather, a criticism of false art, and a severe arraignment of the Eleatic theory, especially in its application to the fine arts. Similarly the ostensible aim in the *Sophist* is to corner 'that clever manipulator of words,' always regarded by Plato as a bad artist, and to assign him to his proper place. There is, however, a second purpose which brings the *Sophist* in line with *Republic X*: a criticism of the Parmenidean doctrine because of its failure to catch the Sophist, i. e. to account for his activity and to answer his arguments. Just as the absolute rejection of poetry, the logical result of the application of the Eleatic theory, constituted a *reductio ad absurdum* of that doctrine, so the inability of this theory to corner the Sophist again indicates its one-sidedness. An adequate philosophical system must explain the activity of poet and Sophist as well as of philosopher and statesman.

Moreover, the fact that the objects of attack are regarded as artists of similar kind affords additional basis for belief that the animadversions upon the Sophist supplement the criticisms of poet and painter. All are regarded as imitators who deal, not with ideas, but only with images, reflections, imitations thrice removed from their source. They are concerned, not with things as they are, but as they appear; not with knowledge, but with 'conjectural or apparent knowledge.'⁴⁶ Just as the artist, without being

⁴⁶ 233 C; Jowett, 4. 360.

either carpenter or cobbler, proposed to give adequate copies of the handicraft of both,⁴⁷ so the Sophist deals in 'an imitative art of reasoning.'⁴⁸ 'Is it not possible to enchant the hearts of young men by words poured through their ears, when they are still at a distance from the truth of facts?'⁴⁹ The same charge is brought against poet and Sophist: they are corrupting youth through 'phantasies': they are proclaiming the reality of material objects and subjective impressions.

The Eleatic Stranger, the critic of the Dialogue, in keeping with his formal plan, proposes

as soon as possible to divide the image-making art [*εἰδωλοποιικήν*], and go down into the net, and, if the Sophist does not run away from us, to seize him according to orders and deliver him over to reason, who is the lord of the hunt, and proclaim the capture of him; and if he creeps into the recesses of the imitative art,⁵⁰ and secretes himself in one of them, to divide again and follow him up until in some subsection of imitation he is caught.⁵¹

The resulting division of imitative art suggests interesting comparisons with the less formal discussion of creative art in the *Republic*.

One is the art of likeness-making [*εἰκαστικήν*];—generally a likeness of anything is made by producing a copy which is executed according to the proportions of the original, similar in length and breadth and depth, each thing receiving also its appropriate colour.⁵²

This part of the imitative art which is concerned with making such an image (*εἰκόνα*) is called 'imaginative' (*εἰκαστικήν*).⁵³

But this is not always the aim of imitation.

In works either of sculpture or of painting which are of any magnitude, there is a certain degree of deception: for if artists were to give the true proportions of their fair works, the upper part, which is farther off, would appear to be out of proportion in comparison with the lower, which is nearer; and so they give up the truth in their images and make only the proportions which appear to be beautiful, disregarding the real ones.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *Repub.*, 601 A; Jowett, 3. 314.

⁴⁸ A free rendering; see 234 C.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *εἰδωλοποιικήν* and *μιμητικήν* are clearly synonymous.

⁵¹ 235 B, C; Jowett, 4. 362.

⁵² 235 D.

⁵³ 236 B.

⁵⁴ 236 A; Jowett, 4. 363.

And what shall we call those resemblances of the beautiful, which appear such owing to the unfavorable position of the spectator, whereas if a person had the power of getting a correct view of works of such magnitude, they would appear not even like that to which they profess to be like? May we not call these 'appearances,'⁵⁵ since they appear only and are not really like? . . . There is a great deal of this kind of thing in painting, and in all imitation. . . .

And may we not fairly call the sort of art which produces an appearance [φάντασμα] and not an image [εἰκόνα], phantastic art [φανταστικήν]?
 . . .

These then are the two kinds of image-making . . . the art of making likeness [imaginative, εἰκαστικήν], and phantastic [φανταστικήν] or the art of making appearances?⁵⁶

The distinction of *Republic X* has been elaborated for the purpose of classifying the Sophist, but it still has reference to the fine arts. The division made in the *Republic* was no passing whim; it constituted the first great distinction between 'fancy' and 'imagination.' There is, however, a vital difference between the two discussions. In the *Republic* painting, sculpture, and dramatic poetry—the fine arts in general—seemingly came under the condemnation of being *both* 'imaginative' and 'phantastic.' It is noteworthy that in the *Sophist* only the plastic arts are censured as works of 'phantasy.' (It must be remembered, however, that in the *Republic* painting was the specific example of 'phantasy.') The Eleatic Stranger is asking whether the particular artist under examination, the Sophist, is to be censured for being 'imaginative' or 'phantastic.' He wishes to know to what degree of falsehood this impostor has descended. In the former dialogue there was at least the implication of such a function as the right imaging of right objects; the way was open to a constructive theory of 'imagination' in terms of which one might have had a conception of music similar to that later enunciated in the *Laws*.⁵⁷ This music, or poetry of the highest sort, would be the adequate image or expression of universal truth. But, having implied that there was a true 'imagination,' he seemingly regarded the func-

⁵⁵ φάντασμα; the singular is used throughout.

⁵⁶ 236 B, C.

⁵⁷ *Laws*, 2. 655; Jowett, 5. 33: 'Let us say that the figures and melodies which are expressive of virtues of soul or body, or of images of virtue, are without exception good, and those which are expressive of vice are the reverse of good.'

tion of 'appearance-making,' i. e. 'phantasy,' as comprehending all lower types of 'imagination.' If one 'fancies,' one deals with material images. Henceforth Plato describes the less ideal kinds of art as 'phantastic.' He is asking now whether this Sophist is to be regarded as an artist like the musician, who is concerned with images of ideas, or like the naturalistic painter, who deals not only with material objects, but with mere semblances, impressions, depending upon the varying moods of the individual.

[But] if we say to him that he professes an art of making appearances [*φανταστικήν*], he will grapple with us and retort our argument upon ourselves; and when we call him an image-maker [*εἰδωλοποικόν*, the inclusive term] he will say, 'Pray what do you mean at all by an image?' . . .

We shall doubtless tell him of the images which are reflected in water or in mirrors;⁸⁸ also of sculptures, pictures, and other duplicates. . . .

When you tell him of something existing in a mirror, or in sculpture, and address him as though he had eyes, he will laugh you to scorn, and will pretend that he knows nothing of mirrors and streams, or of sight at all; he will say that he is asking about an idea.⁸⁹ . . . Of course he will say that we are contradicting ourselves when we hazard the assertion that falsehood exists in opinion and in words; for in maintaining this, we are compelled over and over again to assert being of not-being, which we admitted just now to be an utter impossibility.⁹⁰

Plato's early sympathy with Parmenides had caused him to assert the unreality of the material and contingent, the 'not-being of not-being.' Now in a later dialogue he pictures the Sophist, accused of dealing in 'phantasies' (which for the Eleatic could have no existence), insisting that his Eleatic critic shall be consistent, and pointing out that he cannot call either true or false that the existence of which he had already denied. In order to judge 'phantasies' the Eleatic must modify his 'prima philosophia.' If Plato himself was to have a satisfactory philosophy, it must take into account the image-making of Sophist and painter.

'In self-defense I must test the philosophy of my father Parmenides, and try to prove by main force that not-being is,'⁹¹ i. e. that the phenomenal world is a vital reality which his philosophy must seek to explain. Naturally Plato's 'Critique of Pure Being'

⁸⁸ The 'mirrors' and 'water' of *Republic VI* are still kept as types of the deceptive 'phantasy' of plastic art.

⁸⁹ 239 D, 240 A; Jowett, 4. 368.

⁹⁰ 241 A, B; Jowett, 4. 370.

⁹¹ 241 D.

ends in a modification of the older doctrine of ideas: 'If not-being has no part in the proposition, then all things must be true; but if not-being has a part, then false opinion and false speech are possible, for to think or to say what is not—is falsehood, which thus arises in the region of thought and in speech.'⁶²

The Sophist had already been accused of 'phantasy,' and now of false opinion and speech. Phantasy, opinion, discourse: these three come more and more to be associated in the mind of Plato. He is nearer to a positive theory. The final rejection of the old monism makes possible definite assertions concerning powers hitherto defined only in negative terms. Plato's poetic impulse would have taught him that the 'phantasy,' the faculty of impressions, the power enabling man to be in contact with the sensible world, was also the power of expression, essential alike to poet and Sophist, painter and philosopher.

In consequence, throughout the *Sophist* there is a very vital relation between 'phantasy,' and the discussions of language and opinion,⁶³ with the seeming digressions concerning predication. It is not by chance that Plato represents the Sophist as insisting 'that language and opinion are of the non-partaking class' (do not participate in reality); and at the same time as fighting to the death 'against the existence of the image-making and phantastic art, in which we have placed him.'⁶⁴ These, for Plato, are aspects of the same problem. He is insisting that if the Sophist is to be answered,—if we are to be able to talk about false and true predication,—there must first be a sufficient modification of the old theory of ideas to establish the 'being,' the reality, of error in thought, opinion, and speech, in all the manifestations of 'phantasy' as the power of receiving and giving expression to one's impressions. After an appeal directly to experience he concludes that thought, opinion, and phantasy do exist in our minds both as true and false.⁶⁵ And thought, opinion, phantasy, and speech are but differing aspects of the same thing. 'When opinion is presented, not simply, [i. e. not in a simple proposition] but in some form of sense, would you not call it phantasy?'⁶⁶

⁶² 260 C; Jowett, 4. 395.

⁶³ Jowett, 4. 397 ff.

⁶⁴ 260 D; Jowett, 4. 396.

⁶⁵ 263 A-D; Jowett, 4. 399-400.

⁶⁶ 264 A.

The deceptiveness of the Sophist arises from his wrong mental state: his false opinion issues in false speech, just as the false opinion of the painter issues in false phantasy. But it is not this parallel which makes the *Sophist* especially significant for the student of the fine arts. It is, rather, that Plato ceases to regard the nature of the object as the one criterion either of fine art or of oral discourse. Henceforth he is also interested in mental processes: and not alone in the 'thought' concerned with 'ideas,' but also with the thought which, bound up with sense and opinion, issues in 'phantasies,' opinions which have taken sensible shape. This world of material objects, which results in impressions and demands representation in similar terms, has found its place both in philosophy and in the theory of fine art. This recognition of 'phantasy' becomes indicative of its importance in the most ideal thought and the highest creative art. Not in the *Sophist*, however, for Plato is primarily interested in defining the term and describing the function in the lower processes of thought and expression that he may the more completely catch and classify the Sophist. Having proved the reality of the Sophist's phantasies, he is ready to proceed to a new classification.

Str. You may remember that all art was originally divided by us into creative [ποιητικήν] and acquisitive [κτητικήν].

And the Sophist was fitting before us in the acquisitive class, in the subdivisions of hunting, contests, merchandise, and the like.

But now that the imitative art has enclosed him, it is clear that we must begin by dividing the art of creation; for imitation is a kind of creation—of images, however, and not of real things.⁶⁷

Having thus brought 'imitation' or 'image-making' (εἰδωλοποιικήν) under the general term 'creative art' (τὴν ποιητικὴν τέχνην), he at once distinguishes between two kinds of creation, the human and the divine. The latter in turn he divides: there is the divine creative activity, properly so-called, the making of the universe; and then there is the making of images corresponding to the elements of the universe. These are the phantasms (φαντάσματα) 'which spring up of themselves in sleep or by day, such as a shadow when darkness arises in a fire, or the reflection which is

⁶⁷ 265 A, B; Jowett, 4. 401-402.

produced when the light in bright and smooth objects meets on their surface with an external light, and creates a perception the opposite of our ordinary sight.'⁶⁸ These as well as the other are the work of divine creation.

Similarly there are two branches of human creative art:

Do we not make one house by the art of building, and another by the art of drawing, which is a sort of dream for those who are awake.⁶⁹

And other products of human creation are also twofold and go in pairs; there is the thing, with which the art of making the thing is concerned, and the image, with which imitation is concerned.⁷⁰

Another activity has been added to the three already described in *Republic X*: besides the proper creative function of God, there is now recognized a capacity for creating 'phantasms' in the minds of men in dreams and waking visions. This, we shall see, is regarded as 'divine phantasy,' or 'divine phantastic imitation.' The two human capacities symbolized in the making of the bed by the carpenter, and the painting of the bed by the artist, have merely been carried over into the new scheme, the one as creation proper on the part of men, the other as imitation or image-making in the inclusive sense. After the careful distinction between the two kinds of imitation or image-making, the 'imaginative' and the 'phantastic' one might anticipate a classification involving six, instead of four, divisions, having two kinds of divine and two kinds of human imitation. Again Plato seems content to regard 'phantasy' or 'phantastic imitation' as the inclusive term, standing in the field of divine activity as well as in the human for image-making in general. Whether he had in mind any 'imaginative' imitation on the part of God analogous to human imitation through faithful images we have no means of knowing. It is to be noted, however, that the divine activity which he is to describe, like the art of the Sophist, is the creation of effects not necessarily corresponding to an external reality. At any rate, Plato does not need the distinction here: he glances at it casually. 'And let us not forget that of the imitative class the one part was to have been likeness-making [τὸ εἰκαστικόν] and the other phan-

⁶⁸ 266 B, C; Jowett, 4. 403.

⁶⁹ 266 C.

⁷⁰ 266 D.

tastic [τὸ φανταστικόν].'⁷¹ He then proceeds to a further division of the latter.

By thus placing the Sophist in the category of imitators by means of phantasies he again classifies him with the painter and the poet of the impressionistic type. In the choice of drawing as the type of all 'phantastic' art he has in mind an attack directed only at false realism and subjectivism. He is not linking the Sophist with those artists like the true musicians who aim to create images of beautiful ideas; but is rather insisting that he stands in the same relation to speculative thought that the impressionist artist does to the highest creative art. Just as the true artist and the true philosopher were one for Plato—and he aimed in his own practice to illustrate this—so false artist and false thinker came under the same condemnation. No thinker has ever established a closer relation between poetry and philosophy. For Plato they were aiming at the same objects and were to be judged by the same laws. Hence the significance for the student of poetics of the classification of the Sophist.

Having placed him among imitative artists dealing with phantasies, Plato subdivides: 'There is one kind [of phantastic art] which is produced by an instrument, and another in which the creator of the appearance [τὸ φάντασμα] is himself the instrument,' as in acting.⁷² 'As for the other division, we are weary and will give that up, leaving to some one else the duty of giving it a suitable name.'⁷³ He means, of course, the plastic arts in general of the unideal, impressionistic type. He hurries to a further subdivision: this creating of impressions without the aid of instruments, i. e. acting, may be with or without knowledge of that which is to be imitated. Thus mimics may imitate with knowledge of the person's figure and habits; or entirely without such knowledge.⁷⁴ Or one may endeavor to imitate virtue, i. e. produce the impression of being virtuous, with true knowledge of virtue, or with only an unsafe opinion concerning it. 'For the sake of distinctness I will make bold to call the imitation which coexists with opinion [doxo-imitative, δοξομιμητικήν]; that which coexists

⁷¹ *Ibid.*; Jowett, 4. 404.

⁷² 267 A.

⁷³ 267 A. B.

⁷⁴ 267 B; Jowett, 4. 405.

with science, a scientific or learned imitation [*ιστορικὴν*].⁷⁵ In turn, disregarding the latter class of which the well-informed actor would be a representative, he assumes that the former includes the Sophist, thus again implying the comparison with other bad artists.

This creator of impressions without use of instrument, and without adequate knowledge of the original, may be either simple and serious, or dissembling and ironical. In turn, the latter, who again is the Sophist, may indulge in long or short speeches. The former is the haranguer as opposed to the true statesman and orator; the latter is the Sophist as opposed to the philosopher.⁷⁶

So the Sophist is at last cornered; but the significant fact is not that he has been placed in a particular category, but that he has been regarded as an artist like the painter and sculptor. This being so, we have the key to Plato's classification and theory of criticism of the fine arts. His method, indeed, justifies the assumption that what is true for the Sophist, a bad artist in dialectic, is equally true for his brother artist in poetry. For Plato the naturalistic painter is a Sophist; and the Sophist is a kind of painter of words. It is obvious, moreover, that this Sophist is also far removed from the king and from the truth. The true philosopher and the Sophist are at extremes. Then by analogy, if Sophist and bad artist are in the same category, one ought to be able to say something concerning Plato's conception of the highest poetry.

(1) The highest kind of creative activity is that whereby God made the universe according to a divine pattern. This function receives its most complete exposition in Plato's theology, especially in the myth of the *Timaeus*, where ideas are represented as existing in their purity only in the mind of God. According to the image of these he created the universe. This highest creative activity has no counterpart in 'acquisitive' activity.

(2) The second type of creation ascribed to God is the production of 'phantasms' in our dreams and visions. This is comparable, in the 'acquisitive' activity, to the *vônois* of *Republic VI*. We must remember, however, that this creation of phantasms is an activity of God, not of man. It results in the inspiration

⁷⁵ 267 D, E; Jowett, *ibid.*

⁷⁶ 268.

of poet and prophet. This fury of the inspired madman—receiving these ‘phantasms’ from God through a power of phantasy of his own—is analogous to that dialectic which leads to the contemplation of Ideas: only in dialectic there is a striving to attain the idea, while in the operation of divine phantasy (God’s creative activity) man is a passive recipient of impressions from above. It is significant, too, that Plato’s inspired poets profess an inability to give adequate expression to their visions. They are true to type: the world of *νόησις* is for Plato as for any mystic beyond human imagination. God alone is capable of its expression.

(3) The highest creative function of man, described as the making of things themselves, and typified in *Republic VI* in the making of the bed, would seem to correspond to *διάνοια* in the processes of knowledge. And just as man in the field of ‘acquisition’ (*κρητικήν*), the attainment of knowledge, employed hypothetical images, as in mathematics, so in creative art he uses similar images for its expression. This is to say that the highest human creation involves an act of ‘imagination.’ It is true that Plato nowhere explicitly recognizes this use of images in his discussion of creative art; and it is also true that save for a casual reference the distinction between ‘imaginative’ and ‘phantastic’ imitation is dismissed in this portion of the *Sophist*. But there is reason to believe that Plato would have us keep the distinction in mind; and that just as ‘phantasy’ and ‘phantastic imitation’ comprehended the lower forms of ‘imagination,’ so ‘imagination’ of a higher type was supposed to participate in the highest creative functions, the ideal aspects of the art of imitation. The carpenter, says Plato, creates the bed in the image of an idea, just as God creates the universe according to a divine pattern. The meaning will perhaps be clearer if we think of this carpenter as an architect aiming to express an immaterial ideal. In this sense the Parthenon or a cathedral is the image or embodiment of a religious conception, the likeness of a spiritual ideal; and the artist is expressing his ideal through the same power of imagination of which the scientist makes use in his schematic representations. Only the one is an aid to the attainment of ideas, the other to their expression. Imagination both in philosophy and poetry, in the science of thought, and in the art of expression, is the connecting link between the real and the ideal, between the realm of ideas and that of material objects.

It is 'imagination' in this more comprehensive sense which Plato has in mind in the *Laws* where he calls music not only 'imitative' but 'imaginative' (εἰκαστική).⁷⁷ All art is a process of making images; but this imitation is not to be judged by pleasure and false opinion,⁷⁸ but rather by the ideality of the object and the faithfulness of the image. In this view all art is imitative; and good art is not only imitative of right objects, but is 'imaginative' rather than impressionistic and 'phantastic.' In this sense 'imaginative' is associated with the higher aspects of representative art; 'phantastic' only with the lower.

(4) 'Phantastic imitation' seems to be the creative activity corresponding to εἰκασία; the one is the process of making shadows as the other is the process of 'knowing' by means of shadows. The 'phantastic' imitator has no higher concern than the production of impressions of material objects, just as the thinker who dwells in εἰκασία has no loftier conception of knowledge than the receiving of impressions. Each is concerned with opinion rather than knowledge, with things rather than ideas, with the changing rather than the absolute and eternal. The materialistic artist and the Sophist are both imitators of a distinctly inferior type, dwelling not only in a realm of images, shadows, but in a universe of untrustworthy impressions. Both are primarily interested in gazing at the shadows on the walls of the cave. Such art is to be distinguished from that imaginative imitation of a higher sort. It is the lowest kind of imaging with which the phantasy is concerned.

(5) Plato is no longer content to banish the Sophist and the naturalistic painter from the ideal state. They are to be judged not only by the idealistic standard, but also by the standards which their own practice suggests. If the artist imitates material reality, he must be judged according to his knowledge of what he imitates and his attitude towards his subject. That imitator is most to be censured who knows least about the reality which he pretends to represent, and who is ironical rather than simple and direct in his presentation. Judged by this standard, Plato's Sophist is worthy of most censure,—and so, we might add, is the painter who with little knowledge of nature insincerely describes on the canvas the impression created in his own mind, trying in turn to stimulate a

⁷⁷ 2. 668; Jowett, 5. 47.

⁷⁸ 2. 667 E.

similar impression in the mind of another. Or Plato might have had in mind that 'phantastic' painter of words who, in love with his own half ironical, half-serious conception, insists on giving it artistic expression in the popular lecture or treatise. The comprehensiveness of Plato's method of criticism would bring them under the same condemnation with the cheap public orator, the descriptive poet, and perhaps more than one modern dramatist. Indeed, a modern application of his method of criticism would result in some interesting comparisons.

(6) It would also unite at the other extreme the statesman and the dialectician as having chosen, according to this classification, the highest aims and means. Thus the dialectician as a kind of creator would be called a creator of ideas, not of things or impressions, with knowledge of the original, simply and directly, using short rather than long speeches. He is as far from the Sophist as possible.

In such terms Plato would describe himself as the creator of the Dialogues, thus indicating his use of ideal means, both of acquiring knowledge and of expression, as opposed to the quite unideal science and art of the great popular philosophers of the day. In the same way the ideal statesman of the *Republic* would be the opposite of the street orator and public haranguer, the natural political products of the Sophistical schools. Plato's dialectician and statesman would be 'imaginative' men, concerned with the contemplation and expression of the ideal, rather than creators of impressions. These would be both thinkers and creators in the realm of *διάνοια*; for both dialogue and state are the result of *κρητικήν* and *ποιητικήν*, philosophy and poetry, thought and expression. The *Republic* is a perfect embodiment of Plato's conception of *διάνοια* as a kind of thought which makes use of images, and an imaginative imitation which is the comparable activity of the creative faculty making use of images. By the use of hypothetical images we attain the idea of the perfect state; by means of similar images a dialogue is created, the image of the ideal which the author has in mind. The state which Plato imagines is thus the 'imitation' of that ideal state which exists in the mind of philosopher and statesman alike. Thus the censure of Sophist and painter, studied in the light of the Platonic method of criticism, leads to a constructive theory of 'imagination' as a creative

power, and justifies us in calling the *Republic* 'imaginative' in Plato's sense in both conception and execution.

(7) It is noteworthy that the dramatist is not specifically mentioned as a dealer in 'phantasies.' It is indeed hard to think of an art essentially so objective as peculiarly liable to the charge of subjectivism. One is inclined to say that Plato felt that drama was on a higher plane than impressionistic painting and sophistry. It is essentially 'imaginative' rather than 'phantastic.'⁷⁹

We are prone, then, to ask what in Plato's art takes the place of the drama so severely arraigned in the *Republic*. A bad play, according to the scheme of the Sophist, would be a copy of the acts of individuals as they appear to be, with no universal insight into character, and by means of ironical speeches. This is, of course, 'phantastic imitation.' What would constitute in drama imitation of the higher sort? It would be an imitation of men and women, not as they seem to be, but as they actually are, not as particular persons, but as ideals. The artist must have adequate knowledge of human nature; and express his ideals simply and directly. Plato's imaginative dramatist could hardly have been concerned with characters who possessed tragic flaws, or with situations to which the hero was unequal. His universal type, even in tragedy, would sum up the highest qualities of dialectician, statesman, and poet. The suffering, quite undeserved, would result in admiration of the man—who would be no particular individual, but the incarnation of the poet's ideal. Thus Plato would probably have regarded *Prometheus Bound* as better drama than *Oedipus Rex*. He would also, I think, point to his own Dialogues which deal with the trial and death of Socrates as examples of truly imaginative drama, expressions of universal truth through images of flesh and blood. His Socrates is not the historical character, but the incarnation of Plato's ideal of the good man, the last events in whose life furnish the material for perfect tragedy.

Such is Plato's view of imagination in the service of reason, necessary both in thought and its artistic embodiment. Imagination aids reason in arriving at universal ideas, and in turn in giving to them concrete expression. As yet, however, there is no theory comparable to that notion of Wordsworth that imagination is

⁷⁹ He, may, however, regard drama as subjective in *Rep. X* (602 D).

reason in her most exalted mood. That was to come later; but we must first proceed to a quite different aspect of the subject.

The *Philebus* is a continuation of Plato's critical philosophy, especially in its relation to ethics. The discussion of the function of 'opinion,' already closely associated with 'phantasy,' becomes the basis of a science of ethics. Socrates is anxious to show that opinion springs not alone from impressions of sense, but from sense and memory combined. He appeals to experience: one asks oneself,

'What is that which appears [*φανταζόμενον*] to be standing by the rock under the tree?' . . . To which he may guess the right answer, saying as if in a whisper to himself⁸⁰—'It is a man.' . . . Or again, he may be misled, and then he will say—'No, it is a figure made by the shepherds.' . . . And if he has a companion, he repeats his thought to him in articulate sounds, and what was before an opinion, has now become a proposition.⁸¹

Obviously Plato has in mind the discussion in the *Sophist* of right and wrong predication, and the common bond uniting thought, opinion, and phantasy (i. e. opinion expressed in some form of sense). It is also noteworthy that he thinks of 'phantasy' in two ways: 'that which appears' is 'phantasy,' and the expression of an opinion would also constitute a 'phantasy.' In this process of getting and expressing opinions he wishes to show how important is the rôle of memory. 'Memory and perception meet, and they and their attendant feelings seem to me almost to write down words in the soul, and when the inscribing feeling writes truly, then true opinion and true propositions which are the expressions of opinion, come into our souls—but when the scribe within us writes falsely, the result is false.'⁸² Such is his account of the memory.

I must bespeak your favour also for another artist, who is busy at the same time in the chambers of the soul.

Who is he?

The painter, who, after the scribe has done his work, draws images in the soul of the things which he has described.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 381. 'Thought is the conversation of the soul with herself.' Jowett, 4. 400.

⁸¹ 38 C, D; Jowett, 4. 609.

⁸² 39 A; Jowett, 4. 610.

But when and how does he do this?

When a man, besides receiving from sight or some other senses certain opinions or statements, sees in his mind the images of the subjects of them; ²³—is not this a very common mental phenomenon?

Certainly.

And the images answering to true opinions and words are true, and to false opinions and words false; are they not? ²⁴

Plato is so far from his early contempt—or pretended contempt—for knowledge gained through the senses that he is actually at pains to describe the function of the reproductive imagination in its relation to perception, memory, and phantasy. First there is the simple sensation and the resulting impression, or simple phantasy. This the memory retains. In turn the connection established in the mind between the object of perception and the memory-image causes us to have true or false opinion, which when expressed constitutes a true or false phantasy.

Of course, such an interpretation assumes that the relations established between thought, phantasy, and discourse are in the mind of Plato throughout the *Philebus*; that the psychology of the *Philebus* is a continuation of that of the *Sophist*. Then it follows that the faculty described as the painter is the phantasy in a new aspect, and not to be identified with the first simple impression. Plato is insisting that man gives shape to his opinions; that in the process of forming the simplest opinion he instinctively forms a mental image to aid him. Our opinion may very easily be false if our memory has played us false and has not adhered faithfully to the original impression. In consequence, our concrete representation of that opinion will be false: it will not square with the first 'phantasy.' These 'phantasies' or concrete embodiments of thought following sensation are liable to error. The pictures of the reproductive imagination are true or false according to the accuracy of the mental process preceding them.

Now, Plato says, we have opinions of the future also; and a similar power of 'phantasy' to give shape to them. We give very definite shape to our hopes and fears. Because this is so, 'phantasy' plays an essential part in regulating conduct. 'And the fancies of hope are also pictured in us; a man may often have a

²³ I. e., images of the original, not of the resulting impressions.

²⁴ 39 B, C.

vision of a heap of gold, and pleasures ensuing, and in the picture there may be a likeness of himself mightily rejoicing over his good fortune.' ⁸⁵ The good, he concludes, keep before them good images; while the bad have only ludicrous imitations of the true. Their images, the concrete embodiments of their false opinions, lead only to a pleasure 'about things which neither have nor have ever had any real existence.'⁸⁶ This power of 'phantasy,' more intimately than ever bound up with the problem of knowledge, becomes the means by which conduct is regulated. To know oneself, from one point of view, is to know the state of one's phantasies as the various shapes taken by our feelings in determining our acts: our hopes, fears, and desires. It is here that the *Philebus* acts as an introduction to the *Timaeus*.

The student of Plato's conception of fine art invariably remarks as an essential part of that theory a belief in poetic inspiration; and he will hardly be satisfied with an account of Plato's views of 'fancy' and 'imagination' which ignores the discourse of the inspired Socrates of the *Symposium* and the myth of the *Phaedrus*. Yet there is explicit theory of 'fancy' and 'imagination' in neither of these dialogues. If, however, the *Symposium* is an early work, we should expect only a contempt for 'phantasms.' With the *Phaedrus* and the *Timaeus* it is different. They were presumably written at a time when Plato no longer condemned phantasies and images as unreal. Yet it is hardly to be expected that a recognition of 'phantasy' as a power necessary to the knowledge of the material world would eventually lead to a theory of inspiration or enthusiasm or madness as states of imagination. While Plato comes more and more to recognize the necessary functions of 'phantasy,' he seems to be getting farther away from that world of Immutable Ideas the contemplation of which would constitute inspiration or ecstasy or enthusiasm. Nowhere in his later critical dialogues, in which he developed a theory of 'phantasy' in the service of reason, does he seem to have reached again the high ideal of the *Symposium* with its contempt for 'phantasms' of the material world.

It is true that his notion of 'phantasy' had come so close to *vóησις* that he had recognized that in the mental functioning im-

⁸⁵ 40 A; Jowett, 4. 611.

⁸⁶ 40 D; Jowett, 4. 612.

mediately below intuition one could not think of the abstract save through images. This implicit theory of imaginative symbolism just falls short of a doctrine of inspiration. However close 'phantasy' and 'imagination' are to the highest mental function, they are never for Plato identical with it; they are only means. Human imagination was tied to the laws of matter; and no theory of human image-making could lead to a theory of intuition of immaterial ideas. In Plato's dualism there was a gulf between spirit and matter over which a faculty concerned with the latter could not easily pass; there was a point, as in Dante's vision of Paradise,⁸⁷ beyond which human phantasy could not go. It could not of its own power result in intuition.

But inspiration implies not so much an activity on the part of the individual as a right condition of receptivity and a communication both of power and of vision by a higher Being. It does not even imply that the vision will be comprehended through our highest intellectual powers. The inspired man, from this point of view, is not necessarily the wisest. It is not essentially by means of the loftiest imagination that the vision is seen. So much ought to be premised concerning man's activity in the process of inspiration.

In turn, a doctrine of divine inspiration must start from the belief in a God who not only comprehends in his own person all objects worthy of contemplation, but has definitely ascribed to him a power and function through which these ideas, these worthy objects of vision, may be communicated to the favored being who is in fit condition to receive them. To such a doctrine the discussion in the *Sophist* of the creative function seems to point; and the fulfilment of that scheme, it is reasonable to think, one finds in the *Timaeus*.⁸⁸

Plato has by no means given up his fundamental dualism; mind and true opinion are essentially different.⁸⁹ Opinion, however, is

⁸⁷ Paradiso 33. 142: 'All' alta fantasia qui mancò possa.'

⁸⁸ This, of course, takes for granted that God is the source of the ideas; and the force of the interpretation about to be offered may seem to be weakened by the fact that so good an authority as Archer-Hind (*The Timaeus of Plato*, pp. 37 ff.) expressly denies that the 'demiourgos' is the creator of the Ideas. While explaining away the passage in *Rep. VI*, he has seemingly ignored the references in the *Sophist* to the divine creative function.

⁸⁹ 51 C, D, E; Jowett, 3. 471.

no longer presumed to be false; its reality is recognized, and Plato is now interested in the laws which govern it.

Every man may be said to share in true opinion, but mind is the attribute of the gods and of a very few men. Wherefore also we must acknowledge that there is one kind of being which is always the same, uncreated and indestructible, . . . invisible and imperceptible by any sense, and of which the contemplation is granted to intelligence [*νόησις*] only.⁹⁰ And there is another nature of the same name with it, and like to it, perceived by sense, created, always in motion . . . which is apprehended by opinion and sense.⁹¹

Plato has in mind the line of knowledge described in *Republic VI*, cut into two unequal portions called the invisible and the visible.

It is also noteworthy that he continues to think of the acquisition of knowledge as a process of seeing, which demands a complementary relation between light and power. The soul for him is like the eye, and the ordinary process of knowledge is described as a kind of vision wherein the light of the eye and a light from an external source combine to produce knowledge.⁹² The lower sort, true opinion, would for Plato naturally take the form of 'phantasms.' These, the products of sensation, are the result of the perfect union of the internal and external powers.⁹³ This is the process of waking experience.

'But when night comes on and the external and kindred fire departs, then the stream of vision is cut off' [i. e. the ordinary processes of sense-experience no longer function] and the soul is said to sleep. 'But where the greater motions still remain, of whatever nature and in whatever locality, they engender corresponding visions in dreams, which are remembered by us when we are awake and in the external world.'⁹⁴ Then he adds: 'And now there is no longer any difficulty in understanding the creation of

⁹⁰ I. e., to the gods and to a very few men.

⁹¹ 51 E, 52 A; Jowett, 3. 472.

⁹² See 45; Jowett, 3. 464-5.

⁹³ 45 D, E.

⁹⁴ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα παρέσχοντο ἀφομοιωθέντα ἐντὸς ἑξω τε ἐγερθείσιν ἀπομνημονεύμενα φαντάσματα. Archer-Hind (*op. cit.*, p. 159) translates: 'according to their nature and the places where they remain, they engender visions corresponding in kind and in number; which are images within us, and when we are awake are remembered as outside us.' This brings out the contrast between ἐντός and ἑξω.

images in mirrors and all smooth and bright surfaces.’⁹⁶ Of course, the explanation is that we confuse the internal impression and the external source. Thus right appears left, and left right.

Dreams then ‘are the result of motions which are not thoroughly calmed down, whereby semblances of external things are presented to the mind from within.’⁹⁶ These dream-phantasies we are capable of remembering; but there is the danger that we may remember them as though they were the results of waking consciousness. Then we would be regarding the phantasy presented in sleep not as a mental picture but as an external reality. Such is the problem suggested. The more important aspects of the theory, however, in its bearing upon our study are these: (1) dreaming is regarded as an affair of the lower soul, (2) dreams give rise to ‘phantasies’ rather than to images of external reality, and (3) these dream-phantasies can be remembered.

We must also remember that in the *Philebus* Plato had already carefully noted the importance of ‘phantasies’ in moral conduct. This psychology of conduct the *Timaeus* supplements. In the lower part of the body, we are told, God placed those desires and organs necessary for sustenance.⁹⁷ But ‘knowing that this lower principle of man would not comprehend reason, and even if attaining to some degree of perception, would never naturally care for rational notions, but that it would be led away by [images, εἰδώλων] and [phantasms, φαντασμάτων] night and day,—to be a remedy to this, God combined with it the liver, and placed it in the house of the lower nature, contriving that it should be solid and smooth, and bright and sweet, . . . in order that the power of thought, which proceeds from the mind, might be reflected as in a mirror which receives likenesses of objects and gives back images of them to the sight.’⁹⁸ Plato means that the purpose of God in thus placing in the lower soul—concerned with the appetites and passions—a power like a mirror was to constitute a direct check upon the evil images and phantasms which result in immoral conduct. It is a second kind of ‘phantasy’ capable of producing images of the ideal objects of contemplation of the higher soul. These supplement, and at times supplant, the products of the normal ‘phan-

⁹⁶ 46 A; Jowett, 3. 465.

⁹⁸ Archer-Hind, *op. cit.*, p. 158 n.

⁹⁷ 70 E; Jowett, 3. 492.

⁹⁸ A, B; Jowett, 3. 492-3.

tasy,' which as a means to conduct frames images of material objects. Thus it strikes terror into the natural desires.

And the converse happens when some gentle inspiration of the understanding pictures [*φαντάσματα*] of an opposite character, . . . [rendering] the portion of the soul which resides about the liver happy and joyful, enabling it to pass the night in peace, and to practice divination in sleep, inasmuch as it has no share in mind and reason. For the authors of our being . . . that they might correct our inferior parts and make them to attain a measure of truth, placed in the liver the seat of divination. And herein is a proof that God has given the art of divination not to the wisdom, but to the foolishness of man. No man, when in his wits, attains prophetic truth and inspiration; but when he receives the inspired word, either his intelligence is enthralled in sleep, or he is demented by some distemper or possession. And he who would understand what he remembers to have said, whether in a dream or when he is awake, by the prophetic and inspired nature, or would determine by reason the meaning of the apparitions [*φαντάσματα*] which he has seen, and what indications they afford to this man or that of past, present, or future good and evil, must first recover his wits. But, while he continues demented, he cannot judge of the visions [*φαντασέως*] which he sees or the words which he utters."⁷¹

This, he adds, is the work of the interpreter, who is thus an expositor of 'dark sayings and visions' (*φαντάσματα*).

(1) It is at the outset apparent that this second function of 'phantasy' has to do not only with dreams but also with the waking states of madness and delirium. And these 'phantasies' of dreams, insanity, and fever are not to be explained merely in terms of psychology. They may be 'the gentle inspiration of the understanding.' They are, Plato says, the impressions 'of the power of thought which proceeds from the mind'; and are thus the reflections in the lower nature of the truths arrived at by the higher, not only serving to correct our impulses, but enabling one through that sensible nature to have a 'phantasy,' a personal experience in terms of the senses, of the world of absolute and immaterial reality. For Plato knew that his expert in dialectic was not the highest type of the man of vision: God has given a power of divination not to the wisdom but to the foolishness of man. The capacity of the dreamer and the inspired prophet for receiving and uttering 'phantasies' is thus a higher power than the reasoning of the philosopher and the statesman.

⁷¹ 71 C-72 B; Jowett, 3. 493-4.

(2) We may say that the vision comes directly from God, or merely that it is a gentle inspiration, or a power of thought, proceeding from the higher soul—it makes little difference. Mind has always been spoken of as the attribute of gods and a very few men. Hence this new power of ‘phantasy’—of implanting in the appetitive and passionate part of man’s nature these phantasms which reflect a world of ideas—is manifestly the second kind of divine creative activity described in the *Sophist*. In the ‘phantasies’ of the dreamer and the seer are to be seen the results of that creative activity of God which is a kind of imitation, and is specifically *φανταστική*.

(3) Here a divine power of creating impressions acts through a comparable and complementary human function in man’s lower nature. Thus it is that the highest power of vision, the gift of insight, is given not to the wise, but to the simple whose minds have become fit receptacles for these divinely communicated ideas. This object of vision is not the abstraction of discursive thought, or even the image of an idea; but the idea itself made intelligible through its perfect embodiment, its expression in sensible terms. It is a concrete, individual thing of beauty, an artistic product for the inner eye, a perfect object of vision.¹⁰⁰

(4) In its bearing upon both intellectual and moral life it is thus higher than any activity of discursive thought. Not only does it transcend all other means of regulating conduct by its use of a higher kind of ‘phantasm’; but in the attainment of truth it no longer needs the symbolic images so important in *διάνοια*. Yet in philosophy, in art, and in morality, Plato would rise to the highest ideal through the lowest means: the phantasms of the seer and the prophet result from the proper informing of the lower nature, by which one feels, desires, senses, and acts. It is in this part of the soul that man’s capacity both for impression and expression lies. The inner eye as well as the outer must have a concrete object of vision; and this concrete object demands the functioning of the lower, sensible soul. So it is that Plato comes to regard this power of ‘phantasy’—once accused of being wholly unideal—as the very faculty which, rightly informed by light from above, results in vision higher than reason can attain. Reason can only interpret that high ‘phantastic’ vision.

¹⁰⁰ See Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.

'Phantasy' in this view, having transcended the understanding, realizes the highest function of mind in the realm of intelligence (*νόησις*), and in the truest sense—but in a sense quite different from that of Wordsworth—is reason in her most exalted mood.

Although Lutosławski places the *Phaedrus* immediately after the *Republic*, we shall consider it at this point after the *Timaeus*. In the first place, it contains no explicit theory of *φαντασία*. It contains, however, an implicit system which becomes apparent only after an examination of the *Philebus* and *Timaeus*. It also contains many conceptions typical of the *Republic*. The myth, for instance, is perhaps the best concrete expression of Plato's dualism in psychology. The two steeds of the soul are, however, hardly analogous to the two parts of the line in *Republic VI*, or to any portions of the Myth of the Cave. The contrast of reason and impulse, with full recognition of the essential nature of the latter, brings the *Phaedrus* closer to the later Dialogues. Quite naturally Plato insists that the lower nature drags the soul down, while the higher struggles upward for true knowledge. And just as the lower soul seeks material objects of vision, so the ideal of contemplation of the higher is the 'colorless, intangible essence, visible only to mind [*νοῦς*] who is the pilot of the soul.'¹⁰¹ This is clearly the state of *νόησις* described in *Republic VI*. It is significant, however, that Plato adds, 'Such is the life of the gods'; and, he might have added, of the most Godlike men. He immediately describes human activity as a process of endless striving towards this goal, the charioteers—even the best—being so troubled by the horses that it is with difficulty that they behold true Being. A second class of men alternately rise to a vision of reality and then sink again, 'because of the violence of the horses.' The third class of charioteers are so mastered by their unruly steeds that their wings are broken, and, not having seen reality, they turn to opinion.

It is natural to seek to identify the activities described here with the three types of knowledge of *Republic VI*: *διάνοια*, *πίστις*, and *εἰκασία*. There is, however, no true correspondence: Plato here is not thinking of the degrees of ideality in the objects of contemplation, but rather of the proper restraint and regulation of

¹⁰¹ 247 C; Howett, l. 453.

impulse as a means to vision. As myths of vision this and that of the *Timaeus* stand together—and comparatively remote from the Myth of the Cave—as being essentially psychological, concerned not so much with right objects and ideas as with the capacity of the soul to regulate appetite. And it is also noteworthy that right vision is not a right condition of reason, but grows out of an impulse which is not only ‘low’ but, when unrestrained, results in conduct which is unnatural and immoral.¹⁰²

Certain other facts are significant: Vision is not a natural process of seeing; it is the result of madness. In this madness the prophet, the poet, and the lover are as closely bound together as ever Shakespeare’s lunatic, lover, and poet in the bonds of imagination. To the illustration of this theory of vision or inspiration through divine mania, the myth itself is subordinated. The process of the soul therein described is no natural process of discursive thought, but a representation of the soul’s capacity, and its method of grasping truth intuitively. Knowledge is a kind of madness. Right knowledge, or right vision, does not involve the rejection of the means to sensible experience, but their proper restraint and use. Thus it will be recalled that in his scheme the wings of the steed are the corporeal element most akin to the divine.¹⁰³

Moreover, in this process knowledge is not a new state, but rather a recollection of a previous state. The fact that a soul has taken human shape is evidence of its already having seen the truth.¹⁰⁴ In comparison with the varying capacities for insight in human beings it takes various forms. It is noteworthy that in the classes determined by degrees of insight, the philosopher and the poet are now found in the first of nine classes, the prophet in the fifth, the imitative artist in the sixth, and the Sophist in the eighth.¹⁰⁵ Plato is here thinking of the soul’s capacity for insight rather than for discursive thought; and this capacity is something more than an ability to keep before it an ideal of absolute Being. It is a question of how a soul, once having seen this reality, this ideal truth and beauty, can come to gaze upon it again. Vision is thus the result of what we may call a spiritualized memory.

¹⁰² 254 A, B; Jowett, 1. 460.

¹⁰³ 246 D; Jowett, 1. 452.

¹⁰⁴ 250 B; Jowett, 1. 456.

¹⁰⁵ 248 D, E; Jowett, 1. 454-455.

This power of vision, or of insight or intuition, constitutes in the scheme of the *Phaedrus* a fourth kind of madness, the madness of the lover. It is the state attainable only by those souls of the highest type, those of the 'philosopher, or artist, or some musical and loving nature.' In this conception Plato's ideal philosopher is also lover and poet; or better, for him the philosopher, the lover, and the poet are of madness all compact. These alone have the highest insight, because these alone have memory in sufficient measure of the eternal beauty of that real world in which they had once dwelt.

But this memory is not a recollection of abstractions. In the *Philebus* Plato had definitely decided that 'thought' both of past and future must be in terms of images. So it is in the *Phaedrus* that the souls with the greatest power of vision are those which in virtue of their memory seeing physical beauty, rise forthwith to the remembrance of the beauty of the Heavenly. They 'are amazed and can not contain themselves any more; but what it is that moveth them they know not, because they conceive nothing clearly.'¹⁰⁶ Their madness lies in their inability to perceive the reason for the connection between the earthly copy and the heavenly object of vision.

This beautiful object which recalls to the man of insight the visions of the ideal world is called by Plato a likeness or image.¹⁰⁷ 'Using dull instincts and going unto images, hardly do a few men attain unto the sight of that One Thing whereof they are the images.'¹⁰⁸ Physical beauty is thus thought of as an image of the spiritual; but the spiritual realities themselves, seen by the pure soul in its innocence, he calls *φάσματα*. Thus it is that the despised 'phantasm' of the early Dialogues comes to be the object of highest vision.

Beauty itself, shining brightly, it was given unto them then to behold . . . being chosen to be the eyewitnesss of visions [*φάσματα*] which are altogether fair. . . . These are the things which our Souls did then see in pure light.¹⁰⁹

Now, as touching Beauty:—We beheld it shining . . . amongst those

¹⁰⁶ 250 A, Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁷ 250 A, B.

¹⁰⁸ 250 B, Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁹ 250 C, Stewart, *loc. cit.*

other Visions; and when we came hither, we apprehended it glittering most clearly, by means of that sense which in us is most clear, to wit, eyesight, which is the keenest sight which the body conveyeth. But the eye seeth not Wisdom. . . . But only unto Beauty hath this portion been given.¹²⁶

It is at this point that Plato's view of 'phantasy' comes into closest relation with aesthetic as concerned with the beautiful. The mind cannot intuitively grasp Truth; only when it rises through concrete images of the beautiful can it gaze upon that spiritual Beauty which is Truth made visible. Here 'phantasy' has its highest capacity: the power of the lower soul leads the inspired poet also to contemplate an analogous spiritual phantasm, not merely a product of generalization, but the result of suggestion, an image given through the mind's capacity for remembering celestial Beauty. A lower power of 'phantasy' suggests a higher—which transcends it.

The myth of the *Phaedrus*, then, clearly defines the inspired madness of the poet as a process of contemplating Heavenly Beauty through a capacity for seeing earthly Beauty, and connecting the lower with the higher as image with universal type. The necessary complement of insight is good vision of the bodily eye. The Idea, far from being the object of discursive thought, is to be contemplated by a power capable of connecting a concrete representation with its spiritual counterpart formerly apprehended. Through the restraint of one of the lowest of impulses, inordinate physical love, the soul rises to a recollection of pure love.

Such a doctrine brings the myth of the *Phaedrus* close to the *Timaeus*. Together they constitute the fulfilment of the promise of the *Sophist* by affording a theory of divine 'phantasy.' Both are concerned with the proper restraint of the lower soul as a means to vision; both look upon this vision as a kind of divine mania leading to a contemplation of ideas. Moreover, the process of recollection in the one and the dream-image in the other both involve consideration of the memory as an essential means to vision; not only in the *Philebus* but in these Dialogues as well memory and phantasy are in vital relation.

The *Phaedrus*, however, goes a step beyond the *Timaeus*: it characterizes the concrete images by which recollection takes place

¹²⁶ 250 C, Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

as things of beauty, and the Idea so contemplated as Beauty rather than Wisdom. Wisdom, I think that Plato means, is the form which the Idea takes as the object of the philosopher's quest for the highest abstract truth.¹¹¹ There is a point at which he must stop, for Truth in its naked splendor is contemplated only by God. But God gives to the man of insight a further means to vision, if he will make right use of his lower nature. Beyond Reason it is possible for human phantasy to go: impelled by love the poet may see in the beautiful objects of this world images leading one to think of Heavenly Wisdom; which, in this aspect, as the object of phantasy, must take the shape of Beauty. For neither Wisdom nor Justice nor Temperance, but that Beauty which is in all three is an object of vision. Thus Plato crowns his theory of knowledge with a theory in which the phantasy is recognized as the power by which the mind grasps truth made visible by the phantasy of God. Wisdom, Beauty, Love, and Phantasy: these are the terms involved in the Platonic doctrine of poetic inspiration. Wisdom is the goal of all thought; Beauty its highest embodiment; Love the necessary restraint of impulse; and Phantasy the proper use of a power both of presentation and representation that the human may rise to the divine.

Plato's philosopher to whom Truth comes in the form of intuitions is higher than his lover of dialectic. The poet and the seer have truer insight than the thinker—and the statesman. And, Plato would add, the poetry of the Dialogues is nearer to Truth than the processes of discursive thought. In this light, the myth rather than convincing the reader, impels him to the concrete representation of beauty by means of 'phantasy'; and this representation, in turn, the image of a higher Beauty, recalls to mind those eternal forms of Beauty which are the innate possessions of the soul and the objects of its contemplation. Once more the artistic impulse of the philosopher leads to the illustration of his theory: the myth begins where processes of *διάνοια* end; phantasy takes the place of Reason.

Such is the first comprehensive theory of 'fancy' and 'imagination.' Nowhere is the basic nature of the Platonic conception more apparent than in the relations established between these

¹¹¹ Cf. Dante, *Convivio*, 3. 12: 'Filosofia è uno amoroso uso di Sapienza.'

powers and the fundamental problems of philosophy: not alone of aesthetic, but of metaphysics, ethics, and psychology as well. It thus becomes vitally important for the understanding of later utterances concerning 'fancy' and 'imagination' because of its association with many problems of human thought. Let one reflect for a moment on the significance for aesthetic alone of his definition of the two terms. Here was a theory of subjective art as the work of 'phantasy'; of realistic art as a kind of 'imagination'; of symbolic art as the result of a higher activity of the 'imagination'; and finally of inspired poetry and prophecy as the product of the perfect union of divine and human phantasy. Moreover, Plato's conception of the creative function comprehends both thought and expression.

Finally, the student of Plato has constantly to keep in mind the fact that the creator of the Dialogues would be likely to illustrate his theory by his practice; and one is justified in talking about the dialogue and the myth as types of 'fancy' and 'imagination.'

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SOME REMARKS ON LUCRETIVS AS TEACHER

BY CHARLES KNAPP

Titus Lucretius Carus, the great poet-scientist of ancient Rome, owes his fame to a single work, his *De Rerum Natura*, On the World and All That Therein is. This poem, of about 7,000 verses, falls easily into five parts: (1) Epicurean physics and chemistry, Books 1-2; (2) Epicurean psychology, Book 3; (3) Epicurean theory of sense-perception, Book 4; (4) Epicurean cosmogony and anthropology, Book 5; (5) Epicurean meteorology and astronomy, Book 6.

The Epicurean physics and chemistry—especially the former—constitute the foundation of Lucretius's philosophic system. Logically, therefore, he should have put together, at the very beginning of his work, in sequence, all that he had to say on these themes. But, after all, the supreme interest of Lucretius lay in a corollary of the Epicurean physics—the mortality of the soul of man. The one purpose of his work was to free man from terror, especially from the fear which, on every theory of the soul's nature other than the Epicurean, plagues man ceaselessly, as he thinks of existence beyond death. In his eagerness to free man from this terrible plague, Lucretius interrupts the orderly movement of his exposition, to prove, in Book 3, the mortality of the soul. In logic, he should have set forth in his very last book, as the climax of his poem, what is now contained in Book 3. I ask the reader to imagine that Lucretius had done this, and that, further, he had made Book 3 stop with verse 869. I can think of no more glorious finish to any evangelical message—for such the *De Rerum Natura* is—than that. The attempt, in the remaining verses of Book 3, to strengthen the faith of professed believers, and to keep them from backsliding, splendid as it is in itself, is, by comparison with the rest of Book 3, but the noise of swallows compared to the tuneful song of the swan (see Lucretius 3. 6-7 for this comparison).

Here, then, we find in Lucretius one thing that every teacher needs—a profound belief in the importance of his subject. Orderly-minded as he was (see below), and capable of developing an argument with almost mathematical rigor, Lucretius allows his

sense of the supreme importance of his primary theme to bring about a violent dislocation of the structure of his work as a whole. Nothing could better show his sense of the supreme significance of his life's work.

Another thing that a teacher needs is self-confidence, a belief that he can and does meet, adequately, the demands of his high calling.

In many passages of Lucretius we meet one or the other of these two convictions; in others we meet them together. A very few illustrations must suffice.¹

In 1. 50-61 Lucretius announces his subject as follows:

Apply now your ears, divorced from all other sounds, and devote all the acumen of your soul, freed from every other interest, to the true philosophy, lest, though to be of aid to you I have ordered these gifts of mine with loyal zeal, you none the less, before you understand them, quit them in disdain. <I would not have this happen>, for the system I shall begin to unfold is a system supreme, touching the very skies and the gods; through it I will unfold the first beginnings of things, explaining out of what nature gives all things birth and increase, and into what, at their perishing, she resolves them again. As I set forth my system, I call these first-beginnings now matter, now the life-creating bodies of things, now the seeds of things, now first bodies, since out of them as primal sources all things have their being.

Then follows the first of his great tributes to Epicurus (1. 62-79). His other tributes (3. 1-30; 5. 1-54; 6. 1-42) likewise are in point here as showing Lucretius's sense of the profound importance of his message. In his note on 1. 51, Professor W. A. Merrill cites at least a dozen other passages in which Lucretius describes his system, and his alone, as the *vera ratio* (see also his Introduction, page 21).²

A striking passage is 1. 398-417. Lucretius has set forth his first three basic principles, (1) that nothing can be created out of nothing, (2) that nothing is reduced to nothing—the indestructibility of matter—, and (3) that there is void in all things. The discussion of the Third Basic Principle runs from 329-397. Then comes the passage I have especially in mind:

¹ Limitations of space of themselves forbid any attempt at exhaustive treatment of my subject. The student of Lucretius can easily expand, himself, what is said here and below.

² This elaborate edition of Lucretius was published in 1907 (New York: American Book Company).

Wherefore, though with excuse after excuse you delay the admission, you must needs confess. Besides, by mentioning many another argument I can win belief for my words. But the trail I have blazed, faint though it is, is plain enough for a penetrating mind; with its help you could, unaided by me, learn all that remains to be known on this theme. For, even as mountain-ranging dogs often track out by scent the leaf-strewn lairs of the wild beasts when once they have set themselves to follow the traces which, though slight, are for them sure, so you, by yourself, unaided, will have power in regard to these themes to see point after point, springing one out of another; you will be able to win your way into the secret places where truth hides; and to draw it thence. But if you find the scent growing cold and so loiter on the trail, or, wholly losing the scent, leave the trail completely, I can promise you this: so generous are the floods my tongue will pour forth from the rich treasures of my soul that I fear lest sluggish old age will creep through our frames and loose within us the fastenings of life before on a single theme my verses shall send through your ears my whole array of arguments.

Take now the famous passage 1. 921-950:

Come now, learn what remains, and hearken as I speak even more clearly. Nor do I fail to see how dark, how mysterious are my themes. But with overmastering power a great passion for praise has pierced my mind and dashed into my soul a sweet love of the Muses. Inspired by this love, with unflagging powers of mind I traverse the haunts of the Muses, haunts where there are no paths, places ne'er trodden by the foot of man. It pleases me to make my way to fountains untouched, to drink their waters. It pleases me to gather flowers and to set on my head a garland wherewith the Muses have never veiled the temples of mortal man—first, because great are the themes whereof I teach, as I seek to free men's souls from the close-gripping bonds of religion; second, because on a theme so dark I am fashioning verses so bright, touching every line with the charm of the Muses. . . .

Professor Merrill, (Introduction, page 21), rightly declares that "Lucretius has all the zeal of a missionary." No revivalist was ever more profoundly convinced that he was preaching the one, only, hope of salvation; none ever was more surely persuaded that he had proved, conclusively, what he had essayed to establish. This exhorter's fervor is nowhere better exhibited than in the great passage, 3. 830-869, in which Lucretius triumphantly sums up all that has preceded in his poem (the passage with which, as said above, the poem might most fittingly have closed).

In *The Classical Weekly*, 13. 1-5, 9-13, 17-21, 25-31, I published an Analysis of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* I-III. From that analysis I have learned many things. One is that Lucretius's

mind works over and over again in exactly the same way, a thoroughly workmanlike way.³ It is normal, alike in its regularities and its irregularities. By way of example, let us take his discussion of the First Basic Principle, 'Nothing can be created out of nothing' (l. 149-214). The analysis of these 66 verses is as follows:

- (a) Statement of the First Basic Principle (149-150: 2 verses).
- (b) Explanation of the importance attached to this principle: Men are full of fears now because they cannot explain the universe *sine numine divom* (151-154). My First Basic Principle, by giving the explanation, removes these fears (155-158: 8 verses).
- (c) Proofs (159-214: 56 verses, less 3, 205-207, which constitute a summing up, prematurely introduced):
 - (1) The phenomena of genera and species—their existence and persistence (159-173: 15 verses).
 - (2) Restriction of specific things to specific seasons (174-183: 10 verses).
 - (3) The fact that time is invariably necessary to the full development of things, plants and animals (184-191: 8 verses).
 - (4) The fact that certain forms of sustenance are necessary to the full development of things, plants and animals (192-198: 7 verses);
 - (5) The limitations of growth in the case of various things, e. g. men (199-204: 6 verses).
 - (6) Summary, prematurely made, interrupting the series of proofs (205-207: 3 verses).
 - (7) The fact that cultivation always makes for fuller development (208-214: 7 verses).

Here, as regularly elsewhere, Lucretius is careful (1) to state clearly what he expects to prove, and (2) to draw clearly the inferences suggested to him by the proofs. Indeed, he is over-careful, overeager, overquick in the drawing of the proper inferences;⁴ the result is, often, a break in the orderly development of the argument, and an appearance of vain repetition, when, in reality, not yet ready finally to summarize and to draw his inferences, he is going on to a fresh proof or a fresh series of proofs. The premature drawing of the conclusion leads, at times, to re-

³ I have in mind here, as well as at the close of this paper, the famous statement in St. Jerome's Chronicle, that Lucretius, driven mad by a love-philter, had, in his lucid intervals, written his great poem.

⁴ For other examples of this tendency see l. 234-237, 248-249, 278-279, 368-369, 1081-1082, 2. 442-443, etc.

statement of the point Lucretius is trying to prove: see e. g. l. 237, l. 248-249. Let us take another example, the discussion of the Second Basic Principle, the indestructibility of matter (l. 215-264: 50 verses). The analysis here proceeds as follows:

- (a) Statement of the Second Basic Principle (215-216: 2 verses).
- (b) Proofs (217-261: 45 verses, less 6, which are, in reality, summaries, prematurely introduced: see below):
 - (1) The fact that it always takes force to work seeming destruction (217-224: 8 verses).
 - (2) The fact that things are in the world to-day (225-237: 13 verses).
 - (3) The fact that varying amounts of force are needed to work (seeming) destruction (238-249: 12 verses).
 - (4) The fact that what seems to be destruction is merely change of the form of matter (250-261: 12 verses).
- (c) Summary and restatement: Matter is imperishable (262-264: 3 verses).

It must, however, be noticed that, of the 45 verses ostensibly devoted to proofs of this Second Basic Principle, 6 (234-237, 248-249) are in reality summings up, as a translation will show:

But if all that while, that is, through all the ages past and gone, there have been certain things out of which the universe, as it now exists, has been replenished, so that it owes to them its present existence, those things, surely, were endowed with a never-dying nature; it follows, then, that things cannot return to naught. . . . Nothing, therefore, returns to naught, but all things, when dissolved, pass back into the first-bodies of matter.

These two series of verses dislocate the discussion by drawing inferences too soon. After further argument, in 250-261, we have the proper final summing up and restatement of the principle under discussion.

Let us consider further the direct proof of the Second Basic Principle. Four arguments are there presented. Now, the discussion of a matter of such tremendous importance to Lucretius's whole system should have been clearness and limpidity itself. That this is not the case translations of two of the arguments will make clear:

Argument (1) runs as follows:

We must now add the statement, that nature breaks up each thing into its own first bodies; she never reduces anything to nothing, for, if anything were mortal, liable to death in all its parts, that thing would of a sudden be wrenched from our eyes, and pass away, since there would then be no

need of a force capable of begetting a separation of its parts, and of loosening the fastenings that hold it together. But, as it is, since the seeds whereof things are fashioned are never-dying, it follows that, until some power confronts them that can, with a blow, lash them asunder, or can worm its way inwards through their empty spaces and break them apart, nature does not suffer even the appearance of destruction to take place.

This passage is very awkwardly put. What Lucretius means to say is that we have no evidence whatever that proves that annihilation—real annihilation—takes place; what we actually see⁶ is merely disintegration, the resolution of things, by varying degrees of force, into their parts, parts which are themselves imperishable. We never see annihilation: therefore annihilation never takes place, in the visible or in the invisible world.

Argument (3) proceeds as follows:

Further, the selfsame force, the selfsame cause would annihilate all things indiscriminately, were not the atoms that hold them together never-dying, though they are, in the case of divers things, knitted together and intertwined with varying degrees of closeness, for, otherwise, a mere touch would be cause enough of death, since there would be no elements imperishable whose unions it would in each case require force to undo. But, as it is, since, though the atoms are bound together in divers ways, the atoms themselves abide with substance never-dying, objects remain with their bodies unharmed, until some power strong enough assails them, adapted to overcome the texture of each.

Manifestly, argument (3) is merely a restatement of argument (1). The whole passage (215-264) would gain greatly if the two arguments were combined, that is, if 238-247 were joined directly to 217-224, and the whole then condensed, so that, instead of 18 verses, but 12 at the most were given to the subject.

The passage just considered leads us to note that the power to set forth the same idea in varying ways is a power that every teacher needs; a form of expression clear as crystal and all-compelling to one mind leaves another cold and unconvinced. But this quality has its dangers. It is easy for a teacher here to have the defect of the quality, to mistake a changed presentation of an idea or of an argument for a new idea or a new argument. Lucretius's strength and weakness in this regard are brought out well several times by the passage in which he argues that the invisi-

⁶ As is well known, the Epicureans accepted the evidence of the senses.

bility of the atoms is no disproof of their existence (265-328).⁶ The proof of this declaration he finds in the fact that there are many things which we know only through their effects, not through sight of the things themselves. Here belong the winds. In its broad outlines, the presentation, covering verses 265-328, is order itself.⁷ It runs as follows:

- (a) Preliminary statement: The fact that the *primordia* are invisible is no disproof of their existence (265-268: 4 verses).
- (b) Proof, lying in the demonstration that there are many things which we know only through their effects, not through sight of the things themselves (269-327: 59 verses).

These things include

- (1) the winds (271-297: 27 verses);
- (2) smells (298-299: 2 verses);
- (3) heat, and cold, and sound (300-304: 5 verses);
- (4) the particles, substantial, though unseen, whose coming and going, though undetected by the eye, are attested by the phenomena of absorption and evaporation of moisture (305-310: 6 verses);
- (5) the particles, substantial, though unseen, whose going away, though undetected by the eye, is attested by the wearing away of a ring, a stone, etc. (311-321: 11 verses);
- (6) the particles, substantial, though unseen, whose coming and going, though undetected by the eye, are attested by the phenomena of growth and decay. Nature often works through bodies which are imperceptible (322-327: 6 verses).
- (c) Summary and restatement (328).

But within this orderliness occurs the following passage (271-297):

Take first the winds. Their might, when fully roused, lashes harbors, and drives on giant ships. Sometimes, as they sweep, whirling and tearing o'er the plains, they strew their levels with huge trees, and harry the mountains with forest-rending blasts! With such mad uproar do the winds rage, venting their fury with threatening crashes. Clearly, then, the winds have body, though you see not the winds, bodies which sweep before them the sea, the lands, the clouds, harrying and tearing them with sudden, swirling fury. In a word, the winds stream onward and spread havoc even as water does, soft though its nature is, when it is borne onward in a sudden, overwhelming mass, enlarged by the copious

⁶ Compare also the discussion above, page 407, of the four arguments cited by Lucretius in support of the Second Basic Principle.

⁷ To-day this passage would appear as a footnote.

rains and by the downward plunge of waters from mountain heights, hurling together broken branches, yes, whole trees, till the stout bridges can not bear up against the sudden violence of the coming flood; with such fury the waters, swollen by the rains, dash themselves with might and main against the dikes. With crashing uproar the flood spreads destruction, rolling giant boulders 'neath its billows, and dashing before it whate'er seeks to bar its progress. It is in this way that the blasts of wind must be borne on, for, when, even as some mighty stream, they have flung themselves in any direction, they thrust things before them, and dash them onward with blow on blow; sometimes in eddying whirl they catch things up and sweep them away in swiftly swirling hurricane. Wherefore, again and again I say, the winds have bodies, though you see them not, inasmuch as in their deeds and in their ways we find the winds rivals of the mighty streams, whose bodies all may see.*

This discussion takes up 27 verses. That it is full of repetitions, varying versions of the one idea, is plain. A mere six verses would have been ample to prove the point at issue. Of this Lucretius himself is, in a way, conscious, for he sums up in 277. But, with a true teacher's anxious fear that he has not, after all, made his point, he restates 271-276 in 278-279. This restatement leads, easily and naturally, to the comparison, in 280-289, of the action of the winds to the action of a water-course in flood. This comparison in its turn leads to a restatement of the same simile, in 290-294. After all this Lucretius feels the need of a second summing up, in 295-297.†

One other characteristic of Lucretius's treatment of his subject must be briefly considered. I mean his use of the rhetorical device called by the Romans *occupatio*, the forestalling of criticisms or objections. Cicero, it may be remarked in passing, is also fond of this device. Examples of it in Lucretius may be seen in l. 159-264 (the passage in which he argues that the invisibility of the atoms is no disproof of their existence); l. 370-397 (the refutation of possible objections to the presentation of the Third Basic Principle, that there is void in all things); l. 635-704 (a very elaborate refutation of the physical theories of the pre-Socratic philosophers); l. 817-829; l. 830-920 (the examination of Anaxa-

* This passage illustrates also the Epicurean practice of arguing from the visible to the invisible.

† Repetitions, in various connections, abound in Lucretius: so e. g., l. 370-397 restates l. 335-345, especially 335-342; l. 422-429 repeats l. 335-345, 370-397; l. 551-564 repeats l. 225-237.

goras's doctrine of *homoeomeria*) ; 1. 1052-1118 (refutation of the theory that everything in the universe has a centripetal tendency) ; 2. 308-332 (explanation of the seeming motionlessness of the universe). Here we see, again, Lucretius's supreme selfconfidence ; as a rule man notices the arguments of others only when he is confident that he can annihilate them.

It remains to make certain general remarks.

The first is that, alike in its orderliness and its disorderliness, the mind of Lucretius is wholly normal. Almost invariably, in Books 1-3, the most finished parts of the poem, we can, without forcing matters, make Lucretius's discussion of a point fit into the same framework: (a) careful statement of the point to be proved ; (b) proof or proofs ; (c) summing up. The irregularity which gives a premature summing up, followed by a fresh proof or series of proofs, sometimes with, sometimes without, a restatement of the point to be proved, is a recurrent one.

In all this there is no hint of a mind unsound. I may add, however, that Professor Merrill¹⁰ has noted that Pascal wrote his *Pensées* in the intervals of his sufferings. Recently, in reading a very delightful book, *More Literary Reminiscences*, by Sir Edward Cook, I came upon the following passage (77-78) :

The *Aeneid*, says Professor Sellar, possesses the power, which distinguishes the older Latin writers, of stamping some grave or magnanimous lesson in imperishable character on the mind, and he cites as his first example a famous line from the sixth book. An instance of the power of this line occurs in a pathetic passage of our modern literature. Ruskin during his later years was subject, as is well known, to recurrent attacks of brain fever. He fought against them, and in lucid intervals between the attacks was able to write one at least of the most charming of his books. He attributes some part of his resilience to Virgil. In describing one of his illnesses and the adverse circumstance which retarded recovery, he says this: "Through all such trouble—which came upon me as I was recovering, as if meant to throw me back into the grave,—I held out and recovered, repeating to myself, or rather having always murmured in my ears, at every new trial, one Latin line,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

The second general remark is this, that a consideration of Lucretius's workmanship, its merits and its demerits, proves clearly

¹⁰ Lucretius, page 15, note 9.

that transpositions by modern scholars of verses from the places they occupy in the manuscripts of Lucretius to other places are utterly mistaken. To be sure, every editor, every student, of Lucretius is bound to consider, with the utmost care, whether the parts of Lucretius's discussion of a given point are logically and rightly ordered. He may, too, point out what, in his judgment, would be a better ordering of the material. But actual shifting of the parts of the *textus receptus* till it assumes the arrangement the editor prefers is a very different matter. To my mind, the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, as we have it, is virtually as its author left it; we should ourselves leave it in that form.

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DE VITA IUVENALIS ¹

BY HUBERT MCNEILL POTEAT

The life of the poet Juvenal presents to the investigator a discouraging veil of obscurity which, up to the present time, has successfully defied penetration. I should be bold, indeed, were I to announce that this veil is presently to be lifted. My purpose is far more modest. I am seeking herein merely to review, hurriedly, of necessity, our slight sources of information concerning the poet, with sundry editorial comments thereon, and to present, in conclusion, my own opinion as to the facts.

It would be difficult to find an author whose works contain fewer personal touches than do Juvenal's. He retires, as it were, behind his bludgeon, whence he rains wholly impersonal blows upon vice and rascality and foreigners. Although the occasional mention of a contemporary occurrence has made it possible to fix definitely the date of composition of some of his satires, the poet persistently declines to establish any actual connection with the events of his time. Indeed, the general tone of the pieces is retrospective. The morals, not the doings, of the world about him, stir to action this vitriolic descendant of old father Lucilius. Even the names which occur here and there are, as he himself says, almost entirely of those whose ashes rest, safe and secure from the satirist's lash, under the tombs that line the Latin and Flaminian roads.

There are, it may be said, four sources from which our meagre knowledge of the poet is drawn. The first is the well-known inscription, excavated near Aquinum, which exists now only in copy, and which is believed by most scholars to refer to Juvenal himself; by others, to some relative. Unfortunately, this inscription is somewhat mutilated, but its probable meaning is that a certain Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis, tribune of the first cohort of Delmatians, *duumvir quinquennalis*, priest of the divine Vespasian, vowed and dedicated at his own expense this offering to Ceres. The difficulty of a positive identification of this interesting record with the poet lies in the fact that the *praenomen* is missing.

¹ Read before the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, April 27, 1922.

The second source of information is a group of twelve *vitae*, appended to various manuscripts. They are, in the main, untrustworthy. The first one, found at the end of the *codex Pithoeanus* (and appearing in some other manuscripts), and published by Valla in his edition of Juvenal (Venice, 1486), appears to have inspired all the rest. In this edition there are voluminous quotations from a manuscript now lost, including "commentaries upon Juvenal by Probus the grammarian," probably of the fourth or fifth century. The *vita* in question is supposed originally to have been prefixed to Probus' commentary, and reads as follows:

Life of Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis. Iunius Iuvenalis, the son or foster-son of a rich freedman, practised declamation up to middle life, more because of his fondness for it than from any desire of a scholastic or forensic career. Then, after having composed with some skill a short satire upon Paris, an actor and poet, who was all puffed up with pride because of a piddling six months' military career, he eagerly pursued this form of literary endeavor. But for a long time he did not dare submit any of his verses even to a small company. At last, however, he was heard two and even three times by a large and enthusiastic audience, so that he found courage to insert in his most recent poem those first lines [on Paris]: 'An actor will vouchsafe to you what the chief men of the state can not give. What? Do you waste your time hanging about the Camerini and the Bareae and the wide halls of the nobility? Pelopea creates prefects; Philomela, tribunes.' There happened to be at that time an actor in great favor at court, and daily many of his flatterers were being advanced in rank and station. Juvenal, therefore, was suspected of having satirized, albeit figuratively, those very times; and so he was immediately hustled out the city on a sort of specious military assignment, though he was eighty years of age, and was ordered to take command of a cohort encamped in the farthest corner of Egypt. This type of punishment was determined upon because it appeared to suit the inconsequential and playful fault of the poet. But in a very short time he died of vexation and boredom.

This *vita* is superior to the others in style and subject matter, and, as has been said, appears to be the authority for most of the statements found in them.

The third source of information about the poet is Martial. He mentions Juvenal in three epigrams: 7. 24, 7. 91, 12. 18. In the first of these he employs the phrase *Iuvenale meo*, from which it appears that the two men were on terms of intimacy. Inasmuch as the dates of the epigrams are known, we are afforded a little light upon our problem. The meagre references to Juvenal in

later writers (e. g., Sidonius Apollinaris, Ammianus, and Rutilius Namatianus) give us no assistance whatever.

The fourth and least important source of information is the satires themselves.

As may be readily seen, all these sources are extremely unsatisfactory. The inscription is most valuable, if it really refers to the poet, which is not at all certain. The *vitae* are anonymous, and the authenticity of their statements can not possibly be established. The epigrams of Martial, really, are of comparatively slight importance; while internal evidence yields almost nothing.

I, therefore, find myself somewhat in the predicament of the scientist who sets out to reconstruct some fearsome prehistoric monster from a single bone; and my results may quite possibly appear to be just as terrible as his.

Let us divide our inquiry into the following heads: Birth and parentage, early life, military life, municipal career, composition of satires, banishment, death.

First, then, *Birth*. If the inscription was set up by the poet, Aquinum was unquestionably his birthplace. All the *vitae* save the one quoted above refer to him as *Aquinas*. But in the third Satire (ll. 318-321) we find one of the few bits of really helpful internal evidence. The malcontent Umbricius, leaving in disgust urban perils for peaceful Cumae, addresses his city friend (the poet, of course) thus: "Good-bye; don't forget me; and whenever Rome speeds you on your way to *your Aquinum*, summon me also from Cumae to Helvine Ceres and your goddess Diana." Ceres must have been worshipped at Aquinum under the surname *Helvina*, possibly because her temple was built by some member of the *gens Helvia*; and it is significant, in this connection, that the inscription is dedicated to this goddess. Pearson (Introd., p. 9) says that a single scholiast reports that some person thought Juvenal must be a Gaul, on account of his great size. This anonymous gentleman, however, finds posterity a unit against him; for, however widely they may and do differ on other Juvenalian questions, scholars are agreed that the poet was born at Aquinum.

In striking contrast to the unanimity of view with regard to the place at which Juvenal was born, the time of his birth is one of the most difficult of the many problems of his life. Estimates of scholars cover a period of forty-five years, that is, from 27 to 72.

In order to arrive at a possible date, it is necessary to make a backward calculation from the date of the beginning of the poet's literary activity. The point of departure in nearly every estimate is the statement of the first *vita* that he practised declamation till middle life. On the supposition that forty to fifty represents the usual *media aetas*, scholars have made their conjectures. Bähr's guess (*Gesch. der Röm. Lit.*, p. 621) is 42-47, and he quotes the estimates of Pinzger, Bauer, and Francke as 27, 28 and 39, respectively. Teuffel suggests 47. Pearson offers 48, on the ground that he was not alive after 128. The year 55 is favored by Hardy and others, while Wilson and Friedländer prefer 60. Duff suggests 60-72.

There are two manifest difficulties in fixing the year of the poet's birth by this method of retrogression. The first is the varying ideas as to the exact time of the *media aetas*. Some commentators reckon it as 40, others as 45, still others as 50. The second difficulty is that there is considerable difference of opinion regarding the dates of publication of the satires.

Of Juvenal's parentage nothing definite is known. The *vita* cited above states that he was either the son or foster-son of a rich freedman, and this statement has been accepted by the majority of the editors. Weidner, however, argues (Introd., p. x) that the poet's very names go to show that he was the son of a freeborn Roman citizen. A *vita* of the fifteenth century, published by J. Dürr (*Das Leben Juvenals*, Ulm, 1888), gives the names of his parents, his sister and her husband. Duff disposes of this interesting information as follows (Introd., pp. x-xi): "The inference to be drawn from this unsupported statement in a MS. of the fifteenth century is not that the writer had access to any special information, but that he felt the need of it and was willing to invent it himself."

Professor Merchant (*A. J. P.* xxii, 1901, p. 58) attacks the problem of the poet's parentage as follows: "If, now, as we are told in the memoir [the first *vita*], he was the son of a rich freedman, or the foster-son, in which case he may have been a freedman himself, we encounter the startling anomaly, that he looked with special aversion upon the very class from which he sprang, or to which he belonged, and to a member of which he owed his education, and, in the view of the biographer, easy cir-

cumstances for half his life." Merchant quotes the bitter lines from the first satire (99-116), in support of his statement that Juvenal looked with special aversion upon freedmen as a class. His conclusion is that the poet was the son of freeborn parents, who, however, by no means belonged to the aristocracy.

Early Life. From lines 15-17 of the first Satire, scholars have felt justified in affirming that Juvenal spent his boyhood in Rome, where he received the usual training in the schools: "We too," says the poet, "jerked our hand from the ferule, and advised Sulla that the surest cure for insomnia was retirement from public life." The fifteenth century *vita*, referred to above, gives a list of his teachers. Of the men mentioned in this list, Juvenal refers in the satires to three: Palaemon (6. 452; 7. 215, 219), Fronto (1. 12) and Volusius Bithynicus (15. 1), without connecting them in any way with his own scholastic experiences. References to Quintilian are found in 6. 75, 280; and in 7. 186, and some have entertained the supposition that Juvenal numbered that great master among his instructors. At any rate, if we may believe the statement of the first *vita*, he practised declamation till middle life, because he loved it; and thereby, no doubt, brought an unaccustomed glow of satisfaction to the lean countenance of some underpaid professor!

Military Life. A few scholars, notably Duff, do not believe Juvenal ever served in the army. These men maintain that the Aquinum inscription does not refer to the poet, but to some member of his family or to some relative. It is, of course, possible that no one would have supposed the poet was ever a soldier, had not the inscription been found; but, in the light of its information—if it be trustworthy—we can understand more clearly and explain more satisfactorily the references to military life found in the satires (e. g., 1. 58 ff.; 2. 165; 14. 193, 197; 16. *passim*). That he experienced actual service outside of Italy seems extremely probable from the knowledge he exhibits of various provinces, especially Britain (*cf.*, e. g., 2. 161; 4. 126-127, 141; 10. 14; 11. 124 ff.; 113. 163; 14. 196; 15. 45 ff.).

The question of the time and place of Juvenal's service in the army is an exceedingly involved one, and can not be answered with entire satisfaction. The statement of the *vitae* that he practised declamation till middle life might be construed as excluding the

possibility of a military career until he had passed that period. But this statement does not necessarily imply that he practised declamation and did nothing else. It may signify, simply, that he did not cease the practice of declamation till after middle life.

The inscription informs us that Junius Juvenalis was an officer in a cohort of Delmatians. Ten years of service in the ranks was usually required before advancement to a prefecture or a tribunate could be expected. Duff, as has been noted, rejects the authority of the inscription and interprets the passages in the satires which refer to military matters as the utterances of a man who lived in peace at Rome all his adult life, and who was entirely out of sympathy with the business of war. Friedländer and Wilson, on the other hand see in the lines *de rebus militaribus* the retrospective observations of one who knew thoroughly the dangers and hardships of the camp and the battle field.

It was possible for young men to pass through the various grades of military advancement sooner than was regularly allowed, if they could enlist the services and influence of some person high in the favor of the emperor. This, Juvenal may have done; although, as Pearson points out, if the poet had really offended the prince by his verses against Paris, he would hardly have been selected for special preferment. Hardy thinks it probable that Juvenal commanded one of the Delmatian cohorts in the campaign of 78-84, under Agricola.

We learn, from a military diploma (*C. I. L.* 7. 1194) that in 103 the fourth Delmatian cohort was in Britain. In 14. 196-198, the poet exclaims: "Destroy the hovels of the Moors and the fortresses of the Brigantes, that your sixtieth year may bring you the eagle that confers wealth." Pearson regards this as a remarkable coincidence. It may mean, says he, that Juvenal, finding political life flat, stale and unprofitable, had fled to the army after he became forty, and spent two or three years in service. This view, of course, makes it necessary to throw out the evidence of the inscription as to Juvenal's prefecture or tribunate, unless the lines refer to some unfortunate comrade of the satirist and not to himself, as is quite possible.

We know from Martial 12. 18 that Juvenal was in Rome in 102. In this connection, it may be remarked as a significant fact that Martial makes no mention of military activity in the three epigrams in which Juvenal's name occurs.

The tradition handed down by the *vitae* that at the age of eighty he was sent by Hadrian to Egypt in command of a cohort is, on the face of it, highly improbable and is rejected by most scholars.

Municipal Career. There is no unimpeachable evidence to show that Juvenal ever held an office of any kind, either at Aquinum or Rome. The inscription informs us that he was *duumvir quinquennalis* and *flamen divi Vespasiani*. It is not surprising that a young man of Juvenal's attainments should have been advanced politically to "the most important magistracy in his native town and . . . the honorable position of titular chaplain, so to speak, of Vespasian" (Pearson, *Introd.*, p. 11). The date of the future satirist's tenure of these positions (if, indeed, he held them) can not be established with certainty; but it seems likely that it would fall in the latter half of the decade 80-90. Hardy believes that he held the offices of quaestor and aedile in 85 and 86, respectively, before entering the duumvirate.

Composition of Satires. Estimates of various scholars as to the exact period of Juvenal's literary activity, and the date of publication of the several books, differ widely, although internal evidence plays here its most important part. Haverfield (*Cl. Rev.* XII, 1898, p. 51) insists that the whole atmosphere of the first three, perhaps of the first four, books, the personages mentioned in them, the resemblances to Martial, and many other details (which, for reasons best known to himself, he omits) "reek of Domitian's reign." He thinks, therefore, that the satires in these books were probably published soon after 96, "when the memory of the third Flavian was still fresh," and that Juvenal continued to write at intervals, gradually dropping Flavian allusions.

Nettleship (*Jour. Phil.* XVI, 1887, pp. 54-55) also insists that part of the satires were brought out during Domitian's reign, and, indeed, that Juvenal and Martial worked together. He is of the opinion that the first part of Satire 7 may well refer to Domitian, inasmuch as that monarch was interested in the restoration of libraries and the copying of texts.

Friedländer regards it as possible that some of the satires were written during Domitian's reign but could not be published until after his death. Book I he assigns to 112; Book II, to 115, by reason of the reference (6. 407-412) to the comet that portended

disaster to the Armenian and Parthian kings, and to the earthquake from which Antioch suffered severely during that year.

Hardy and Wilson both place Book I in 105 or 106. The latter defends his opinion thus (Introd., p. xiii): "The statement of the *vitae* [*ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit*], the silence of Martial as late as the year 100 with regard to any literary activity on the part of Juvenal, and the general tone of the satires themselves, looking back, as they do, on the past, often on the remote past, are best explained if we assume that Juvenal not only did not publish satires, but did not write them until after the accession of Trajan."

There is almost unanimous agreement as to the date of publication of Books II, III, IV and V, the years being 115, 119-120, 125 and 128, respectively. The best evidence for the date of Book III is the opening lines of Satire 7: "Both the hope of study and the inducement to it depend upon Cæsar alone. For he is the only one who regards with favor the Muses, now so wretched." These lines are generally thought to refer to Hadrian, though Nettleship and others insist that Domitian is meant; and Cruttwell, who places Juvenal's birth as early as 46, argues (*Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, p. 443) that the great vigor of style which is conspicuous in the seventh satire makes it clear that it was not the work of the poet's old age, and hence, that the Cæsar referred to can not be Hadrian, and that there can be no doubt that it is Trajan.

The date of Book V is fairly definitely established by 13. 17 and 15. 27. In the first of these passages reference is made to a man sixty years old, born in the consulship of Fonteius (67 A. D.). In the second, some wonderful things "lately accomplished during the consulship of Iuncus" are mentioned. We learn from a military diploma of 127 (*C. I. L.* III, p. 874, number 31) that L. Aemilius Iuncus and Sex. Iulius Severus were consuls that year. Some commentators read, in 15. 27, *Iunio* for *Iunco*. Junius was consul in 119; hence, if that reading be adopted, the fifth book would have to be assigned to that year, or to 120, and the other books correspondingly earlier, inasmuch as there is no evidence to prove that they were not published in chronological order.

Banishment. The other debated points in Juvenal's life are at least more or less definitely circumscribed by a relatively small

number of years, but his banishment is placed by various commentators at different points all along the way, from the time he was old enough to give offense to an emperor to the last year or two of his life. Some, indeed, deny that he ever suffered exile at all; they maintain that his absence from Rome in military service has been twisted, by a vigorous use of imagination, into a banishment at the hands of an irate ruler. This view is at least possible. The cause usually assigned for the banishment is the passage in Satire 7 (lines 86-92), in which the poet speaks his mind upon the subject of Paris, the actor:

But though he [Statius] smashes the very benches with his poetry, he starves, unless he sells his unpublished 'Agave' to Paris. Paris it is who confers upon many military preferment, and binds the fingers of bards with the ring, token of six months' service. What the nobility can not bestow, an actor can. Do you haunt the Camerini and the Bareae and the wide halls of the great? Pelopea makes prefects; Philomela, tribunes.

Now, Paris, suspected of an intrigue with the Empress Domitia, was executed in 83; hence, if Juvenal was banished directly on account of these lines, his ejection must have occurred prior to that time, while Paris was still high in Domitian's favor. It may be noted, parenthetically, that Juvenal would hardly have praised an emperor as he praises "Caesar" in the opening lines of this satire, only to attack, later on in the piece, the emperor's favorite. Nettleship apparently failed to take this consideration into account in his argument, referred to above, for Domitian as the "Caesar" of 7. 1.

The satires bear some evidences of piecemeal composition; and it has been suggested that Juvenal wrote these particular lines before Paris' death and later incorporated them in his seventh Satire. Indeed, the *vita* quoted above states that this is precisely what occurred. All the *vitae* maintain that the attack upon Paris was directly responsible for the poet's banishment and that he never returned to Rome, but died in exile.

The *vita* of the *codex Pithoeanus* specifies eighty as the poet's age at the time of the banishment. Others imply that it occurred during his earlier life, and, as has been remarked, that he remained in exile the rest of his days. It may be said at this point that the latter view appears wholly improbable. That Juvenal

must have been in Rome when he wrote the satires, or at least the first ten, admits of little doubt.

Many scholars do not commit themselves definitely upon this puzzling question of the banishment, either as to time or place. Hardy argues that he was ejected by Hadrian in 135, a time when that prince committed many arbitrary and cruel acts. He says (Friedländer concurring) that Hadrian had a favorite actor, at whom a bored audience probably shouted Juvenal's lines from the seventh Satire, and that the emperor wreaked his vengeance upon the unfortunate author. A mythological parallel, of course, is furnished by Apollo's vindictive rage directed against the poor cyclops who forged the thunderbolt with which Jove smote Aesculapius! Teuffel shares this view, but suggests that Trajan may have been the emperor in the case. It is his opinion that the banishment took the form of a military relegation, perhaps to Britain, where the cohort, of which Juvenal, according to the inscription, was tribune or prefect, was stationed in the years 103, 106 and 124. Teuffel believes, of course, that the mutilated numeral on the inscription is IV, rather than I.

Friedländer thinks a short period of exile possible between 92 and 96 or 102 and 110. Nettleship's view is that Juvenal was probably one of the large number whom the last years of Domitian's reign drove away from the city, and that he may have remained away until the year 100. Duff regards it as possible that he was banished for a short time during Domitian's principate, and says that if he was, the offending verses against Paris must have been written many years before the publication of Satire 7.

The *vitae* agree that Juvenal was banished and that the cause was his attack on the actor, as has been said. But they disagree as to time and place. Some insist that he was sent to Britain; others, to Egypt: some, in early life; others, as an old man. Satire 15 has strengthened the convictions of some commentators that Egypt was the land of exile; and Pearson remarks (facetiously, I imagine; though facetiousness, not being *echt Deutsch*, is anathema to most editors) that he may have traveled thither for his health! Francke has written two pamphlets (*Examen criticum Iuvenalis vitae* and *De vita Iuvenalis quaestio II*) to prove that the whole Egypt story was an invention of the grammarians, and that Juvenal was never there. In support of the latter proposition,

he first calls attention to the satirist's ignorance of the topography of the country, shown by lines 33-35 of the fifteenth Satire, in which Ombos and Tentyra, seventy-five miles apart, are said to be neighbors; and declares, secondly, that lines 44-46, in which the poet refers to personal observations in Egypt, are a gross interpolation.

Many scholars who have faith in the tradition of the banishment, regard it as more probable that Britain received the exile, from the intimate knowledge he displays of the island and from the possibility that the banishment took the form of a military relegation. Some scholars deny that the verses against Paris had anything whatever to do with the matter, but Sidonius Apollinaris, in the fifth century, refers (9. 273) to Juvenal as "the exile of an angry actor."

No traditional cause of the banishment has been handed down, save the verses against Paris. If they be cast aside, we have no possible clue to cause or time; and the place still remains, of course, an unsolved riddle.

Death. The time of this event has been variously estimated, conjectures of scholars covering fairly completely the period from 109 to 140. The weight of opinion is, however, that the poet must have been alive and still writing at least as late as 128, from the reference in 15. 27 to one of the consuls of 127, Aemilius Iuncus (if, indeed, the reading *Iunco* be correct; cf. p. 421 above). Tradition, nurtured by the *vitae*, has it that the satirist lived to the good old age of eighty. And here again conjectures must be made on other conjectures, namely, of the time of his birth and of his literary activity.

The guesses of Pinzger, Weber and Francke are 109, 122 and 121, respectively (according to Bähr, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.*, p. 623). Pearson says (Intro., p. 10) in a delightfully nonchalant way: "If we accept the tradition that Juvenal attained the age of eighty, and assume that he did not live long beyond the year A. D. 128, the date of his birth would be about A. D. 48." Naturally! Wilson's estimate is 135-140; Friedländer's, the same; while Duff gives up, with the remark that the date of the poet's death is uncertain, but must have been as late as 128. Hardy maintains that he died in the early part of the reign of Antoninus Pius, about 137, at the age of eighty-two or -three.

Having outlined briefly the views of a few of the prominent Juvenalian scholars, I shall attempt, in conclusion, to indicate those which seem to me most probable, and to construct therefrom a possible sequence of events in the life of the satirist.

In consideration of the arguments advanced by Professor Merchant (quoted, in part, above, p.417), we may very reasonably doubt the statement of the *vitae* that Juvenal was the foster-son of a freedman. I can not think of the poet as one who would viciously assail the class to which his own family belonged. His parents were probably free-born, but not wealthy. That Aquinum was his birthplace, there seems no reason to doubt. The time of his birth can not be so definitely stated. Although all commentators do not accept as authoritative the evidence of the first *vita*, yet its statement that Juvenal practised declamation till middle life is made the basis of practically all the estimates of the time of his birth. From the fact that Martial's last epigram in which Juvenal's name occurs (12. 18, A. D. 102) contains no mention of previous or contemporary literary activity on the part of the latter; and from the fact that the reference to Domitian's pet, Crispinus, in 1. 27, would appear to indicate that at least part of Book I must have been written about the year 100, we may with reasonable certainty fix upon 60, approximately, as the year of the poet's birth.

He undoubtedly received the regular grammar-school training, and also studied rhetoric, probably under the best masters of the time; possibly under Quintilian himself. At the age of seventeen we may suppose that he entered the army and went to Britain with Agricola in 78, rose rapidly in rank, and returned with his general in 84, a *praefectus* or *tribunus cohortis* (cf., here, 2. 159-161). He would naturally pay a visit to his old home, after six years' service in the army; and his fellow townsmen expressed their pride in the young warrior's achievements by electing him quaestor, then aedile, then *duumvir*, and finally, *flamen divi Vespasiani*—in spite of his youth. Assuming that a year each was occupied in the tenure of these several offices, we may surmise that in 89 or 90 he returned to Rome, to practise law or declamation. Martial refers to him in 7. 24 and 91 (92 A. D.). In the latter epigram the epithet *facundus* is applied to Juvenal. Nettleship argues that this word may refer to elegance of style in

writing, as well as to eloquence in oratory; but, inasmuch as there is nothing else in either epigram to corroborate this interpretation, we may feel fairly safe in believing that Martial had reference only to his friend's attainments in declamation.

Discouraged in his efforts at political advancement, Juvenal may have reëntered the army. It is certainly significant that Martial makes no further mention of him until 102; and it is quite probable that his banishment can be assigned to that period, if, indeed, he was banished at all. As has already been suggested, the exile may have taken the form of a military relegation; or the fact that he was away from Rome again at this period (which appears very likely from the silence of Martial) may have given rise to the tradition of a genuine imperial ejection. It is hardly probable that, if he ever went to Egypt, it was at this time, for there are only two or three references to that country in the first fourteen satires.

If expelled in 92, the lines against Paris can not have been the cause. Although no remnants of Juvenal's oratorical efforts, as such, have come down to us, yet it is not at all improbable that, in his direct and emphatic way, he made some remark which, coming to Domitian's ears, offended that monarch so grievously that he proceed to banish the young orator. At least we find him in Rome again by the year 102, Domitian gathered to the Furies and the fetters of intellectual slavery shattered. If he was exiled by Domitian in 92, or shortly thereafter, there is, of course, a strong probability that he came back to Rome very soon after the emperor's death in 96. But if he was actually absent on military duty, there is no ground for any conjecture as to the date of his return earlier than 101. He must have remained in Rome during the next twenty or twenty-five years, for it is very difficult to understand how he could have written his satires—at least the first four books—in some distant province, repulsing Rome's foes on the field of battle, or pining away in a foreign land.

The dates of publication were probably as follows: Book I, 105-108; II, 116; III, 119-121; IV, 125; V, 128-129. The evidence for this estimate has already been presented (pp. 420-421), and need not be rehearsed at this point.

Presumably during the latter half of his life, Juvenal inherited a small estate (6. 57) and had a farm at Tibur (11. 65). He

also had a house at Rome, where he entertained his friends in a modest way (11. 190, 12. 87-90). That he could have been away from Rome during Trajan's reign and the earlier part of Hadrian's seems highly improbable, as already suggested. It is true that in 103 the fourth Delmatian cohort was stationed in Britain among the Brigantes, to whom Juvenal refers in 14. 196-108. That is an interesting coincidence, as noted above (p. 419). But the fact that the obscured number in the Aquinum inscription (which, in my opinion, most likely refers to the poet) is I or II (Hardy, *Introd.*, p. xxviii), coupled with the probability that the poet was, in 103, already at work on the satires which appeared later as Book I, outweighs the coincidence.

The tradition of Juvenal's visit to Egypt in his later years, either forced or voluntary, is a persistent one, but it has met some rather vigorous opposition. There is at least a possibility, as Friedländer and Hardy suggest, that the lines about Paris may have been shouted at some sorry actor who happened to be beloved of Hadrian, and so have brought down imperial vengeance on the author's head. Tradition is inclined to Egypt as the place of the banishment, and has it that he died there, after years of helpless longing for home. That he was put in command of a cohort in his old age is wholly preposterous, in spite of the fact that the notion is well fortified by this same stream of tradition.

The fifteenth Satire deals exclusively with things Egyptian; hence, it has been supposed by some that all the satires of the fifth Book were written in Egypt. Their comparative feebleness, too, is urged in an attempt to prove that they were the work of a crabbed exile. Friedländer states categorically that the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth and sixteenth Satires must have been written in Rome, and that, consequently, all the others were probably composed there. My own opinion is that Friedländer is right, for the four satires named deal with matters upon which a wretched outcast would hardly occupy his mind. As to the fifteenth, it has already been pointed out that Juvenal knew little of the topography of Egypt, and his outbreak against Egyptians and their ways in that Satire may well be interpreted simply as a sort of formal expression of the hearty and ripe detestation of a long life. All in all, the evidence in support of the journey to Egypt seems to me meagre, unsatisfying, and extremely doubtful.

Assuming, as we have, that Juvenal was born about 60 A. D., and accepting, as all commentators have done, that he died at the age of eighty, or thereabout, we may fix upon 140, approximately, as the date of his death. We have seen that he was writing at least as late as 127 (Satire 15). The sixteenth Satire was presumably written after that date. At any rate, he probably ceased to write by the year 130, and died, as has just been suggested, a few years later.—Had he known what a problem his eighty years were destined to prove to posterity, surely, out of the kindness of his heart, he would have ordered the facts of his life engraved upon imperishable stone and preserved from that time forth, through all succeeding generations!

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SOME ASPECTS OF EXTEMPORAL ACTING

BY THORNTON S. GRAVES

Since Hamlet's famous protest against allowing the clowns to speak "more than is set down for them," English critics have, as a class, looked with disfavor upon the practice of "gagging."¹ So respected has been the advice of Shakspeare and so uncompromising have been the critical utterances inspired by it that to-day the average person looks upon any interpolation by an actor as a species of disrespect peculiar to a by-gone age. In assuming such an attitude we are, of course, merely repeating the complacency of previous generations who have assumed a similar air of superiority; for to-day actors are extemporizing just as they were in 1638 when a character in Brome's *Antipodes* declared that the disgusting practice of adding to the author's text was a crudity of the "days of Tarleton and Kempe before the stage was purged from barbarisms,"—or just as they were in the middle of the eighteenth century when Hill wrote in *The Actor* (p. 252) that extemporizing was "suffered in the last age" but is no longer tolerated.

In view of such a tradition against actors taking any liberties with their author's texts, the majority of English-speaking people will perhaps not relish being reminded of the idea presented by Strindberg in the preface to *Miss Julia* (1888), the suggestion that actors should be given ample liberty in the speaking of the much-discussed soliloquy, which, instead of being written out, should be merely indicated by the playwright. But in spite of Shakspeare and tradition and the present status of the soliloquy, such suggestions of a return to the methods of the old *comedia dell'arte*, practices of which actually remain in vogue on certain Italian stages, are worthy of serious consideration in these days of innovation and free tendencies in literature and art; hence it is hoped that a brief résumé of the art of extemporizing on the English stage will offer a few suggestions to those who wish to go

¹ Cf., for example, *Betterton's History of the English Stage* (1741), pp. 52, 119; Steele's *Tatler*, No. 89; Hill's *The Actor* (Ed. 1755), pp. 251-52; Tate Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, II, 130-135 and *Wandering Patentee*, III, 28-29; John Roach's *Authentic Memoirs of the Green-Room* (1814), pp. 105-106; Cibber's *Apology* (Ed. Lowe), I, 240-41.

more fully into the subject. Such a brief study as the present will at least show, I think, that the average person to-day has no conception of the enormous amount of extemporizing that has been done in the past; that this wholesale taking of liberties with the author's text has by no means been confined to clowns and second-rate players; that some of the big hits of the stage have been due to the interpolations of actors; that a rigid stage censorship, no less than the extemporal ability, laziness, or natural desire for timeliness on the part of actors, has led to departures from the "book"; and that every player, even in these days of long runs, painstaking rehearsals, and mechanical acting, should at least have some skill in what may, with considerable accuracy, be called the lost art of extemporizing on the stage.

Students who are at all familiar with Elizabethan drama know that the actors of Shakspeare's time were allowed certain privileges with their lines unheard of in the better class theatres of our own day. This freedom of utterance was due not so much to laxness of discipline and incompetent management as it was to other circumstances. Chief among these was the emphasis placed by the Renaissance upon "extemporal wit," an art cultivated not only by jesters and professional amusers of the public but also by courtiers, scholars, and politicians. The remarkable extemporal ability of the early comedians Richard Tarleton and Robert Wilson is generally known; and their acquirement was recognized by such sober-minded contemporaries as Harvey,² Meres,³ and Stowe.⁴ Tarleton's cleverness at repartee, impromptu rimes, and the making of "jigs" on the spur of the moment is almost incredible, if we may trust contemporary accounts of his feats.⁵ Other comedians were almost as clever. Preserved in the British Museum is a rare little volume entitled *Quips upon Questions*, thought to be the work of the actor Singer, who, like Tarleton, was accustomed to compose extempore verses on the various subjects suggested by members of

* Cf. Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 125.

² *Palladia Tamia* (Smith's *Eliz. Critical Essays*, II, 323).

⁴ Stowe's *Annals* (Ed. 1615), p. 697.

⁵ Cf. especially *The Jests of Tarleton* (Edited by Halliwell for the Shakespeare Society and by Hazlitt in his *Shakespeare Jest Books*) and W. J. Lawrence's *On the Underrated Genius of Dick Tarleton* in *London Mercury* for May, 1920.

the audience; while William Fennor boasts that when Kendal failed to meet him in a wit combat at the Fortune he appeased the disappointed audience by extemporizing on themes flung at him.

Literary men as well as clowns prided themselves on their extemporal wit. Roper in his biography of Sir Thomas More evidently took considerable pride in pointing out that the great wit and statesman spoke extempore parts in a play while in the service of Archbishop Morton; Gascoigne boasted that he spoke extempore the long speech of Sylvanus at the famous Kenilworth entertainment;⁶ ballad-singers on the streets improvised as the old minstrels had done before them; and such poets as John Taylor the Water Poet, Kendal, Robert Wilson and William Fennor not only laid great stress upon their extempore verses but sometimes met in public wit contests somewhat after the manner of the early Provençal poets.

A second reason for the large amount of extemporizing on the Elizabethan stage was undoubtedly the precedent of the Italian *comedia dell'arte*, in which the plot of a dramatic piece was outlined and the actors were entrusted with the task of supplying the details of dialogue and action. That this style of acting was familiar to the Elizabethans there is of course no doubt;⁷ but to what extent it was practised in England except by visiting Italian players remains unsettled. Scholars formerly thought that the "plots" of early plays preserved in Dulwich College were outlines of dramas to be presented "after the manner of Italy," but the prevailing opinion now is that they were prepared as guides to be used by prompter or call-boy in the course of the performances.⁸ Be this as it may, there were numerous actors in Elizabethan England who were capable of the art of the Italian players, while various references in the literature of the period indicate that they sometimes gave extemporal performances. The player in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* is represented as acting extempore;⁹ Falstaff (*I Henry IV*, II, iv) asks if they are to have a "play extempore"; the great comedian William Kempe is represented in Day's *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607) as helping in an

⁶ *Princely Pleasures* (Ed. Cunliffe), p. 120.

⁷ Cf., for example, Smith's *The Comedia dell'Arte*, pp. 170 ff.

⁸ Cf. *Henslowe Papers* (Ed. Greg), pp. 127-28.

⁹ Ed. Grosart, p. 132.

"extemporal merriment" at Venice; the servant in Cowley's *Guardian* (v, 5) says of Ralph the Butler that he is an old actor who has been heard to "speak a Play extempore in the Buttery"; the prologue to "A Comedie, Presented at an Entertainment of the Prince His Highnesse, by the Schollers of Trinity College in Cambridge, in March last" (i. e., 1641/2) expresses a fear that the Roundheads will detect their amusement and states that their only hope lies in the fact that their play will escape the Puritans because it was "made extempore";¹⁰ Brome in the last act of his *City Wit* refers to a "Ballet" or "religious Dialogue" to be "done after the fashion of Italy," that is, "only the plot premeditated to what our aim must tend; Mary, the speeches must be extempore"; the plays within the play in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (iv, i) and Middleton and Rowley's *Spanish Gypsy* (III, i) were apparently intended to be done in the manner of the Italian "scenical school"; while Miss Smith¹¹ sees a reference to extemporal performances in Polonius's comment that traveling actors are the "only men in the world" for "the law of writ and the liberty." "Surely," she writes, "Collier's common-sense interpretation of 'the law of writ and the liberty' as written and improvised plays is more probable than the explanations of recent critics who would have the expression refer to 'regular and romantic plays.'"

In spite of Jonson's pronouncement¹² that English plays are "premeditated things" and consequently not like the extemporal products of the Italians, an abundance of stage directions proves that our early playwrights had confidence in the extemporal ability of their actors and really approximated the "fashion of Italy" in a manner very similar to that advocated by Strindberg. Several of these directions are interesting enough to repeat, though it cannot be said, of course, that they are certainly the productions of the dramatists themselves. The fragment of an early morality play dealing with the story of the prodigal son¹³ contains the following: "Here the servant cometh in spekyng some straunge

¹⁰ The words, of course, are probably a reference to the hasty composition of the piece, though it is possible that they refer to extempore acting.

¹¹ *The Comedia dell' Arte*, p. 183.

¹² *Case is Altered*, II, 4.

¹³ *Malone Society Collections*, I, pt. i., p. 29.

language and the sonne sayth unto hym as foloweth"; Lupton's *All for Money* (1578), a so-called "belated morality," has the direction: "Here the vyce shal turne the proclamation to some contrarie sense at everie time all for money hath read it" (ll. 1008 ff.); Heywood's *If You Know Not Me* seems to entrust the actor with a foreign language not set forth in the text of the play: "Here the Queen entertains the Ambassadors, and in the several languages confers with them (Ed. Pearson, p. 317);¹⁴ and another somewhat suspicious direction occurs in the second part of the same writer's *Edward IV*: "Jackie is led to whipping over the stage, speaking some word, but of no importance." A similar tone characterizes the direction in *The Trial of Chivalry* (III, 2): "Enter Forrester, missing the other taken away, speaks anything, and exit." Other indications of impromptu speeches will be mentioned below, but the stage direction in Marston's *Insatiate Countess* (IV, 5), where Massino pleads his case before Don Sago, is of especial interest here: "Tell him all the plot." As Bullen has conjectured in his edition of the play, the words above no doubt indicate that Marston left it with the actor to explain briefly in his own language the history of Massino's relations with Isabella.

When such freedom was allowed the players, the amount of extemporizing must have been considerable. Some scholars, indeed, believe that some of the brightest sayings that have come down to us as strokes of the Elizabethan dramatists may really represent the timely improvisations of clever actors of the day. If the interpolations of actors were sometimes happy, it is equally certain that they were frequently of a different order; hence it has been a practice of certain students to attribute to actors various especially flat passages which occur in the dramas of the time.¹⁵ Very interesting in this connection is Mr. Appleton Morgan's theory that the difference in length between the quarto and

¹⁴ It is practically certain that the actor who played Adorni in Glapthorne's *The Ladies Privilege* (II, i) is entrusted with the speaking of French when he "acts furiously" for the benefit of Corimba.

¹⁵ Signs of improvisation, to illustrate, have been found in I, 3 of Greene's *James IV*, in the clownage scenes in Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, in IV, 2 of the second part of *Henry VI*, in the Fool's prophecy in *King Lear* (III, 2), the couplet closing III, 2 of *Troilus and Cressida*, the allusion to the groundlings in *Henry VIII* (V: 4), etc.

folio editions of Shakspeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* is to be accounted for by the fact that the latter version of the play represents an expansion of text in consequence of the accumulated witticisms of the actors.¹⁶

If some Elizabethan playwrights were apparently more or less willing to entrust their reputations to the extemporal genius of the players, others were certainly opposed to any insertion of phrases by actors. Brome, for instance, in a well-known scene in his *Antipodes* (II, 2) ridicules the practice of "gagging," though we must not take too seriously his remark that in the days of Tarleton and Kempe "fools and jesters" were allowed to spend their wit in extemporal effusions, because

The poets were wise enough to save their own
For profitabler uses.

Possibly another thrust at the extemporizing of actors is the advice of Timon, the foolish author, in I, 2 of *Lady Alimony* (pub. 1659):

Be sure that you hold not your book at too much distance. The actors, poor lapwings, are but penfeathered; and once out, out for ever. We had a time, indeed—and it was a golden time for a pregnant fancy—when the actor could embellish his author, and return a paean to his pen in every accent; but our great disaster at Cannae, than which none ever more tragical to our theatre, made a speedy dispatch of our rarest Rosciuses.

Shakspeare, as everybody knows, evidently preferred to supply all the wit necessary for the success of his plays; and some have seen in Hamlet's advice to the players a personal hit at Kempe who had taken too many liberties with the dramatist's lines. Professor E. E. Hale, Jr. even goes so far as to suggest¹⁷ that the presence of comic scenes in all of Shakspeare's serious plays may be largely due to his distrust of the extemporal powers of such comedians as Kempe, who, provided they had no lines offering them a chance to display their comic talent, would not hesitate to supply witticisms of their own at any point where the opportunity offered itself.

We may or may not believe that Shakspeare took such pains to insure his productions against the impertinence of clowns at inop-

¹⁶ Introduction to Bankside edition of *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

¹⁷ *Modern Philology*, I, 166-87.

portune moments, but it is certain that clowns have continued to indulge in their impertinences in spite of Hamlet's protest and Shakspeare's pains to give them something to do; for many famous "gaggers" have continued to delight English audiences since the days of Tarleton and Wilson, Singer and Kempe. Notable among these are Pinkethman, Bullock, Angell, and Norris in the late seventeenth century; Hippisley, Shuter, Faucett and Edwin in the eighteenth century; Liston and Power in the early nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, the existence of so-called "ad-libitum parts," that is, rôles in which actors were expected to practice the methods of the old *comedia dell'arte*, was very common until comparatively recent times. Bayes in Villiers' *Rehearsal* and Puff in Sheridan's *Critic*, to illustrate, were such parts; and such famous actors as Cibber, Garrick, and Henderson enlivened the speeches of Bayes with numerous local hits of their own. Cibber, it will be remembered, by having Bayes comment on *Three Hours after Marriage* received the lasting hate of Alexander Pope. That actors sometimes took unnecessary liberties with "ad-libitum parts" is illustrated by the entertaining story told in Benson Hill's *Playing About* (II, 13). Yates had engaged Hill to act on short notice and with full freedom the Irish watchman in the once famous play *Tom and Jerry*. In a spirit of fun he indulged in such an overflow of nonsense about the Irishman's pedigree as to take actors and audience by storm and to teach Yates not to be too liberal in prescribing "gags" to certain players.

Perhaps as influential as Italian precedent in encouraging impromptu speeches on the English stage has been the strict, and oftentimes unreasonable, censorship which has handicapped the British theater from its very beginning. Examiners of plays were apparently as fastidious in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as they were a few years ago in objecting to undesirable allusions in dramas to politics, morality, and religion. Being human, the early actors naturally employed their extemporal abilities in the enjoyable pastime of nagging supersensitive authorities. As early as 1537 complaint was made that a seditious May-game was given in Suffolk in which the actor who played the rôle of Husbandry said many things "against Gentlemen more than was in the book of the play";¹⁸ and at Perth in 1589 the ministers and elders,

¹⁸ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (1537), pp. 557-585.

evidently profiting by an earlier experience, gave permission for a play to be presented on condition that it contained no "swearing or banning" and "that nothing shall be added to what is in the register of the play itself."¹⁹ Sir Henry Herbert, licencer of plays under James I and Charles I, was especially careful in expunging all seditious or blasphemous material from the text of dramas to be publicly acted; and as a means of protecting himself against the additions of actors he considered it necessary to keep in his possession a copy of each play in its licenced form.²⁰ This precaution seems to have been fortunate; for in 1633, referring to Jonson's *Magnetic Lady*, which had caused trouble on account of its oaths, he declared that the actors at first would have "excused themselves on mee and the poett" but finally admitted that they were responsible for interpolating the objectionable words.²¹

Naturally playwrights would object to actors supplying material which would bring their dramas under the ban of the civil authorities; hence we find Nash complaining that the players were responsible for some of the offensive matter in his very objectionable play *The Isle of Dogs*;²² while Chapman wrote to the authorities who refused to licence his Biron plays: "I see not myne owne Plaies; nor carrie the Actors Tongues in my mouthe."²³

As would be expected, the Puritan element was loud in its objection to the extemporal lewdness which actors incorporated after the more decent forms of the plays had been licenced for performance. The author of *The Second and Third Blast of Retreat* gives "usual jesting and riming ex-tempore" as one of the reasons why plays should not be tolerated in a Christian commonwealth; and William Prynne, probably referring specifically to extemporal jigs, objects that especially those who act the parts of clowns and amorous persons are wont to "adde many obscure lascivious jests and passages of their owne, by way of appendix, to delight the auditors, which were not in their parts before" (*Histriomastix*, p. 930). That the Puritans were justified in such objections there

¹⁹ Murray, *Eng. Dramatic Companies*, II, 379.

²⁰ Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of Elizabethan Drama*, p. 78.

²¹ Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, II, 391; Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 32.

²² *Lenten Stuff* (ed. Grosart), p. 200.

²³ Cf. *Athenaeum* for April 6, 1901.

can be no doubt. Dekker in his *Strange Horse-Race* had already protested against the indecency of extemporal jigs (Prose Works, ed. Grosart, III, 340). One remembers also in this connection the frequent appearance of the printer's sign "&c" in early printed plays, and wonders how much extemporal indecency was covered by its use, especially in dramas after the act of 1606 forbidding the use of oaths on the stage.²⁴

Objections to profanity in drama did not cease with the Puritans any more than actors ceased their extemporal coarseness in accordance with the wishes of religious bodies. Naturally the early Methodists in their zealous and frequently ludicrous fight against the theater repeated the old arguments employed by Gosson, Prynne, and the rest. Among them was the stressing of the evil effects of "profane jests and obscure swearing" on the stage. The Methodists no less than the Puritans were frequently justified in such complaints. This is a fact admitted by no less an enemy of the sect than the well-known actor and manager, Tate Wilkinson, who, however, resents the wholesale condemnation of drama by the Methodists in their tabernacles because certain actors insist on introducing "low indecent jokes and a volley of oaths not in the parts." Nor is it fair, he argues,²⁵ to blame managers too severely for not stopping an evil which cannot be effectually stopped by them.

²⁴ Note, for example, the following: *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, III, 4; *Wily Beguiled*, l. 592; Brome's *Mad Couple Well Match'd*, III, i. For other interesting cases of the use of "&c," some of which are no doubt mistakes for various marks of punctuation but the majority of which cover an oath or indicate that the actor was left to supply words as he saw fit, see Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, I, 4; Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*, II, 2; Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, I, i; *Westward Hoe*, IV, i; Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, IV, 3; *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, IV, i; Brome's *English Moor*, I, 3 and III, 2; Brome's *The Queen and Concubine*, IV, 8; Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, IV, 2; Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* (ed. Pearson), p. 20; Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (ed. Dyce), I, 43. In the first act of Thomas Porter's *The French Conjuror* (1678) an interesting stage direction informs the reader that Monsieur is to swear to himself "all the while they are dressing him," and the text follows: "Mons. Journee Morbleau; oh Diabolo, Diabolo, &c"—which surely indicates that the printed sign might well have stood for a good deal of pretty offensive language even during the Restoration.

²⁵ *Memoirs*, I, 85-86.

There is no reason to doubt Wilkinson's statement that managers of good repute conscientiously tried to prevent actors from indulging in unseasonable "gagging." Various anecdotes have come down to us which illustrate the point, as, for example, Charles Lee Lewes's account of Isaac Sparks, who, tired of playing the stock duke of tragedy, secured his discharge from the Dublin theater by a bit of extemporal impertinence during the senate scene in Otway's *Venice Preserved*.²⁶ Better known, perhaps, is John Bernard's story of the famous strolling manager Jemmy Whitely and an ambitious impersonator of the Player King in *Hamlet*. The latter in speaking the lines

For us and for our tragedy,
Here stooping to your clemency,
We beg your hearing patiently,

embellished the original with the couplet

And if on this we may rely,
Why, we'll be with you by and by.

To which Whitely, who was reclining on the stage as Hamlet, sarcastically replied:

And if on pay-day you rely,
Take care I stop no sala-ry.²⁷

Of more significance is the discharge of George Staley by Mossop late in the eighteenth century because he introduced a toast of political intent into a Dublin performance of *High Life below Stairs*. Staley, who was very resentful of his severe treatment, defended his extemporal wit by saying that he was merely doing what everybody else was practicing; and he gives a few instances out of "Thousands of Cases," the examples being "gags" by Sparks, Mrs. Bellamy, and Mrs. Abington introduced to fit local Dublin life and politics.²⁸ Gilliland's anecdote²⁹ of the "Fort-Major of Sheerness" is introduced at this point, not because the Major was a theatrical manager, but because it is a good story and

²⁶ *Memoirs*, I, 85-86.

²⁷ *Retrospections of the Stage*, I, 201.

²⁸ *Life and Opinions*, I, 175 ff. For other examples of this sort of thing see Leman's *Memoirs of an Old Actor*, pp. 153-154.

²⁹ *Dramatic Mirror*, I, 179.

illustrates, provided it can be trusted, the severity with which those in power sometimes punished any departure from the author's text. The Major, says Gilliland, had "bespoken" the play of *Cato* at Margate. "Charles Mate was the Sempronius, who procured of the Major seven supernumeraries, to have the play done in style as he called it. Six were very tractable; but the seventh, a drummer, dressed in a soldier's old coat, with a long buff belt buckled round his waste, notwithstanding Mate's instructions that, at the words 'See the unhapy men; they weep!' they were to appear to do so, kept nodding to his old friends in the gallery, and grinning throughout the scene. Richardson, who played Cato, vexed at his conduct, in addition to 'Sempronius, see they suffer death!' said, 'but for that fellow in the buff belt, let him have all the torments can be felt!' The Fort-Major, on his return, examined the play, and not finding the last couplet, banished the company from Sheerness, and they remained out of bread for three weeks,"—which shows that Majors other than those of a very recent date have made asses of themselves in trivial matters of discipline.

In spite of the protests of Methodists, the efforts of managers and the devices of such martinets as the "Fort-Major," the practice of "gagging" went merrily on; and many of the efforts at timely additions by actors, whereas they were pronounced coarse or ridiculously out of season by the more fastidious part of the audience and the more rigid guardians of morals, were nevertheless hailed with delight by the general public and consequently have been handed down to us by purveyors of theatrical anecdotes. It would be foolish to attempt to list all such cases, but a few may be given as specimens. In his *Wandering Patentee* (III, 29) Tate Wilkinson gives what he regards as an especially inappropriate bit of impromptu:

Every reader will recollect that, in the farce of the Farmer, Jemmy Jumps is not only in search of a wife but an utter stranger to Valentine. Mr. Darcy was the Captain Valentine and Mr. Faucett the Jemmy Jumps. The night before the Farmer was acted, Mrs. Faucett (to the pride and joy of her *young* husband) was brought to bed. In the Park scene, Valentine, who had not seen Jemmy Jumps till then, and did not know who he was, inquired warmly after the health of Jemmy Jumps' wife, which Jemmy answered with great pleasure, by assuring him that she had the night preceding 'produced a chopping boy, and was as well as could be

expected, considering her condition.' Yet, notwithstanding the absurdity and glaring impropriety, instead of being properly reprobated, the audience actually applauded, though so coarse and out of season.

An even coarser "gag" was pronounced a great success. While Bland was performing Arionelli, the "Italian Castrato" in *The Son in Law*, his wife had recently given birth to twins; consequently the audience went into raptures when Bland remarked, "Marriage! Oh, dat is quite out of my way," and Wilson, who acted Cranky, interpolated, "Indeed! Then how came you to have twins t'other day?"³⁰

By no means so vulgar but equally out of place was the great hit made by an actor in the rôle of Barbarossa at Plymouth before an audience composed largely of loyal sailors during the French War of 1812-15. The Eastern tyrant improved his lines as follows:

Did not I,
By that brave knight, Sir Sidney Smith's assistance,
And in conjunction with the gallant Nelson,
Drive Bonaparty and his fierce marauders
From Egypt's shores! ³¹

Equally ridiculous, and probably equally untrustworthy, is the bit of impromptu said to have made a great appeal to a similar type of patriotism in America. While Charles Kean in the rôle of King Richard III was seated on his regal chair at New Orleans, he noticed that several of the nobles, being Americans and unacquainted with the court manners of Europe, were not uncovered in the royal presence. "Take off your hats," whispered Kean, "you are in the presence of your king." "And what of that?" roared high-reaching Buckingham, looking round at the audience and smacking his own cap tighter on his head, "What of that? I guess we know nothing of kings in this country." "The citizens of New Orleans were in raptures," remarks the Englishman who relates the anecdote,³² and the king sat corrected. Of considerable interest in this connection is Edmund Leathes's comment regarding what most of us would certainly regard as a silly insertion. Writing of conditions about 1870, he says:³³

³⁰ *Secret History of the Green Room* (ed. 1732), I, 208.

³¹ Fitzgerald, *Theatrical Anecdotes*, p. 7.

³² Russell, *Representative Actors*, p. 402.

³³ *An Actor Abroad*, pp. 215-216.

'Gags'—that is, interpolated lines or jokes of the actor—are common in every theatre; some gags are looked for and expected in certain plays and are almost considered as parts of the original; in Lytton's play of 'Money' in America, the Sir Frederick Blount is generally expected to describe the curricule he speaks of as a 'gween curwickle with a wed wibbon wunning wound the wumble for the dwiver to diwect the weins by.'

The words of Leathes remind us that if certain managers and the more critical members of the audience have objected to actors introducing their own coarseness and their jokes out of season, no one but the author whose text is being improved or the most ardent stickler for following the "book" can object to a timely bit of impromptu thoroughly in character and in harmony with the spirit of the scene. Even Tate Wilkinson, who on various occasions censured actors for departing from the author's text, wrote thus:³⁴

I do not wish to be too rigid, for I know many an impromptu to be of infinite service to the piece, and the actor of course to the audience; but the actor should have such a curb on his wit, as to be careful that what he lets off from the fire of whim and his genius, is strictly in time and place, and character, and then let him be as witty as he pleases; but beware in any play of Shakespeare's, for the true value is as different as a French Assignat to a Bank Note of Old England.

It would obviously be absurd to enumerate at great length the numerous bits of impromptu which have been of "infinite service to the piece," but a few may be cited, in addition to others that have already been referred to in the course of this paper,³⁵ to illustrate how quick-witted players from Richard Tarleton to Richard Carle have turned casual matters or circumstances to the advantage of the performance.³⁶ In his autobiography (pp. 25-

³⁴ *Wandering Patentee*, III, 30.

³⁵ One who is curious about such matters may find other instances in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Jest Books*, II, 204, 218-19, 223; Dr. Doran's *Their Majesty's Servants* (1864), II, 142; Broadhurst's *Annals of the Liverpool Stage*, p. 172; Mrs. Steele's *Memoirs of Mrs. Sophia Baddeley*, III, 67-68; Bernard's *Retrospections of the Stage*, I, 22; Lord Lennox's *Plays, Players and Playhouses*, II, 32; Adolphus' *Life of Bannister*, II, 154; Vandenhoff's *An Actor's Note-Book*, pp. 99-101; Wewitzer's *School for Wit*, pp. 86-87; Cibber's *Apology* (Everyman ed.), pp. 155, 238-39.

³⁶ Of course, as everybody knows, the anecdotes of especially quick-witted actors cannot always be trusted; and sometimes they are notoriously unreliable, as, for example, the old story told in Ryan's *Dramatic Table Talk*

27) James Dawson relates an interesting occurrence at Bath soon after the Battle of Trafalgar. In the midst of the play entitled *The Poor Gentleman* great excitement was occasioned by an actor's announcing from the stage the great naval victory and the death of Nelson. A second outburst attended the patriotic dialogue somewhat later between Lieutenant Worthington and Corporal Foss, which changed to tears, however, when Dawson's father in the rôle of Foss directed attention to the dead Nelson by changing "we" into "he" on speaking the line: "We shall never fight for old England again." The vanity of no less a person than Sir Walter Scott was tickled by a similar personal allusion, for on March 2, 1827, a few days after he had publicly confessed to being the "Great Unknown," he wrote thus in his diary: "Funny thing at the Theater last night. Among the discourse in *High Life Below Stairs*, one of the ladies asks who wrote Shakespear. One says Ben Jonson; another, 'Finis'; 'No,' said Will Murray, 'it is Sir Walter Scott, he confessed it at a public meeting the other day.'" Even King George III is said to have been amused at a similar bit of impertinence. In 1792 Colman's *Surrender of Calais* was being presented at the Haymarket before His Majesty; and Parsons, who acted one of the carpenters who erect a scaffold on the stage, was supposed to say: "So the king is coming; an the king like not my scaffold I am no true man." For the benefit of the royal visitor he spoke the words thus: "An the king were here, and did not admire my scaffold, I would say, 'Damn him! he has no taste.'" ²⁷

(II, 156-57) and elsewhere of Shakspeare and Queen Elizabeth. While the dramatist was busy with the rôle of a king, Elizabeth, by various devices, attempted in vain to disconcert him. Finally on walking across the stage she dropped her glove at Shakspeare's feet. The player-king, so the story goes, gracefully recovered the royal gage and, without departing from the spirit of his rôle, presented it to its owner with the following impromptu:

"And though now bent on this high embassy,
Yet stoop we to pick up our cousin's glove."

²⁷ Told in Sadler's *Theatrical Anecdotes*, p. 106, and elsewhere. The tone of the jest is of course suspicious. If Parsons succeeded in amusing the king by such an allusion, it is well known that actors frequently got into trouble by taking too many liberties with individuals. A story is told, for instance, that in 1733 Sir Robert Walpole went behind the scenes and threshed an actor for introducing extemporal hits at him in *Love*

Ignorance of their lines in consequence of such circumstances as haste or laziness has been a more potent factor in inducing actors to extemporize than has either rigid censorship or a desire for timeliness. In these days of long runs and intensive rehearsals comparatively few actors are compelled to rely upon the aid of the prompter or upon their own ingenuity. In the old days, however, of large repertoires and hasty rehearsals the duties of the prompter were more arduous than at present; and perhaps there is no more common type of theatrical anecdote than that of the absurd mutilation of text or ridiculous improvisation by actors in consequence of a failing memory,—such anecdotes, to illustrate, as Dickens's story of the Rochester player who assumed a tragic pose on forgetting his lines and stalked from the stage with the pompous words, "I will return anon,"—or Stirling's account of a certain Lucianus, who, forgetting his author during the play scene in *Hamlet*, desperately improvised in a rich Irish brogue: "I'll pour the pisen into his ear hole; that'll do it."³⁸

It must not be thought that all attempts by lazy or careless actors to conceal a defective memory were equally unfortunate, for many of our old players whose industry was not above reproach possessed sufficient ingenuity to conceal many of their shortcomings from the audience, while some of them were geniuses in the art of saving a stage situation. Such an actor is mentioned in Brome's *Antipodes* (1638), a character who never knows his part yet is the favorite of certain unsophisticated persons, because

he makes such shifts extempore
(Knowing the purpose what he is to speak to)
That he moves mirth . . . 'bove all the rest.

Timon's words in *Lady Alimony*, quoted above, seem to contrast

Runs All Dangers; Bernard in his *Retrospections of the Stage*, I, 212, tells an interesting story of how Cherry once narrowly missed being punished by a certain Captain Watkins Tyler, who, in his ignorance of the existence of his great predecessor Wat Tyler, was preparing to thresh the actor for speaking his text accurately.

³⁸ *Old Drury Lane*, I, 271-72. For interesting cases of a similar sort of thing see Colman's *Memoirs of Phelps*, pp. 24-25, 56; Haslewood's *Green Room Gossip*, p. 150; Wilkinson's *Wandering Patentee*, III, 58-59; O'Keeffe's *Recollections*, I, 340-42; Roach's *Authentic Memoirs of the Green Room* (1814), pp. 219-20; Ryley's *Itinerant*, II, 203; Dutton Cooke's *A Book of the Play*, I, 286, 291, etc.

the helplessness of the poor "pen-feathered" brood of recent actors, who "once out, out for ever," with the extemporal ability of the older players which saved them in pinches. In much later times John Reeve, says Douglas Bannister in his life of the comedian, rarely memorized his lines; nevertheless his extemporal ability and quick wit repeatedly saved him from disgrace. Colley Cibber comments³⁹ on Powell's neglect of his lines and the impudence of an actor who will come before an audience "with a conscious negligence of what he is about." Yet Colley himself, according to John Davies, was a frequent sinner in this respect:

I have seen him at fault where it was least expected; in parts which he had acted a hundred times, and particularly in Sir Courtly Nice; but Colley dexterously supplied the deficiency of his memory by prolonging his ceremonious bow to the lady, and drawling out 'Your humble servant, madam,' to an extraordinary length; then taking a pinch of snuff, and strutting deliberately across the stage, he has gravely asked the prompter, what is next?

John Palmer was noted for his ingenuity. He was, says James Boaden,⁴⁰ able but "usually negligent." He would "throw up his eyes with astonishment that he had lost the word, or cast them down with penitent humility, wipe his lips with his eternal white handkerchief to smother his errors, and bow himself out of the greatest absurdities that continued idleness could bring upon him." The same writer relates an anecdote told by Palmer's brother.⁴¹ When John was acting Lord Russel for the first time in one of Hayley's dramas, he was woefully ignorant of the text, but not at all lacking in resourcefulness; hence he introduced passages so skillfully from other plays, particularly *The Earl of Essex*, that the audience, having never read Hayley's production, were entirely unsuspecting of the subterfuge. Gilliland mentions other feats of this resourceful man.⁴² On one occasion he was to speak a prologue that he had failed to memorize. Fortunately for him a noise broke out in the gallery as he began to speak. While the audience was calling for silence, Palmer moved his lips in silence, accompanying the procedure with appropriate gestures. When the noise subsided, he ceased his acting in order to complain of the noise which had disturbed him. Another outburst against the gallery

³⁹ *Apology* (ed. Lowe), I, 241.

⁴⁰ *Life of Kemble*, I, 54.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴² *Dramatic Mirror*, II, 889.

ensued, together with a still louder reply from the gallery, during which commotion Palmer finished his prologue, and, just as the house got quiet, bowed and retired amidst considerable sympathetic applause. On another occasion, says Gilliland, he secured a toilet-table as a necessary property in the speaking of a prologue. Concealed under the table was the prompter with the "book" and a candle, who read the prologue line by line. Palmer repeated each line to the audience, filling "up the little pauses of time with conges, attitudes, and respectful features."

This last device reminds one of Edwin Stirling's story of Archer, who, as Appius Claudius in Sheridan Knowles's *Virginus*, was accustomed to sit in the forum with the "book" so placed near one of the gas-burners that he could read his lines with ease. One night a practical joker turned the book upside down, but the trick failed to disconcert the clever Archer, for with considerable gusto he spoke Cato's famous soliloquy beginning, "It must be so—Plato, thou reasonest well,"—after which he strutted off "pompously in Roman fashion" with the remark, "Lictors, follow me, Claudius, I'll hear more of this case tomorrow."⁴³ Very similar to Palmer's artifice was also a bit of chicanery practiced by the great tragedian Cooper, though the ignorance of his lines was not due to habitual laziness. Knowing himself to be defective in the rôle of Ford in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, especially in the scene with Falstaff in the second act, he resorted to the device of placing his "part" on the table at which he and Falstaff were seated, and literally "read" his words to the audience. At least one member of the audience noticed the trick, however, for, says W. B. Wood,⁴⁴ a critic in a brief discussion of the performance politely suggested that on "a future reading of the part" it would probably be better for Cooper to announce his intention in the bills, in view of the fact that the novelty of such a manner of "reading" could not fail to add to the attractiveness of the performance.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Old Drury Lane*, II, 177.

⁴⁴ *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, p. 76.

⁴⁵ Of course a great many similar tricks have been practiced by actors who did not know their parts. Cf., for example, Leathes's account (*An Actor Abroad*, p. 184) of how he tore a page from the book of *The Rivals* and concealed it in his hat, where he constantly consulted it in the scene where Faulkland confers with his Julia; or W. B. Wood's story (*Personal*

The ladies have been known to resort to a device peculiar to their sex as a means of concealing a defective memory. Gilliland, to illustrate, tells ⁴⁶ of a Miss Barnes, who, not having learned the second act of *The Waterman*, "found it necessary (to prevent the odium of incorrectness from attaching to her study) to excite the commiseration of the audience by fainting on the stage." The strategem would have succeeded perfectly, he continues, had she not been heard to tell the carpenter, who ran to her assistance, to be careful and not rumple her gown. George Anne Bellamy, it may be noted in this connection, indulged in two or three rather suspicious fainting fits, and a Miss Stephens, during the early nineteenth century, was regarded with suspicion because she so frequently fainted in the presence of the audience.⁴⁷

Such actors as John Palmer may have owed their ignorance of their lines to indolence, but it must be remembered that in the early days of the theatre circumstances often combined to make it humanly impossible for players to be letter-perfect and that the ability to extemporize was almost an essential part of an actor's equipment. In a lengthy and intensely interesting discussion of the evils arising from the old "star system," W. B. Wood points out ⁴⁸ that the rehearsal of a play was frequently impossible in consequence of the late arrival of the "star" himself on the scene of action. Not infrequently actors were given only twenty-four hours in which to commit to memory four or five hundred lines of blank verse or even more. "An audience would scarcely credit the fact," says Wood, "that many pieces (manuscripts chiefly) were acted which the performers who played in them never had a chance of ever having read, nor any means of knowing the drift or object of the story, beyond the scene in which their own parts lay. It was by no means an uncommon thing when I left the theatre [in 1846], to hear an actor inquire of another during the performance, 'What is this play about?'" *The Amateur or Guide to the Stage*, published at Baltimore in 1850, gives specific direc-

Recollections of the Stage, p. 77) of the early "little lady singer" who was accustomed to write on the palms of her kid glove the first words of each line of her songs.

⁴⁶ *Dramatic Mirror*, I, 227.

⁴⁷ Oulton, *Theatres of London*, II, 301.

⁴⁸ *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, pp. 441-42.

tions (pp. 40-41) as to how an actor should conduct himself when compelled "to go on for a part without sufficient possible time to commit the words to memory." Somewhat later William Davidge⁴⁹ comments on the undesirable practice of reading a part on the stage—a thing frequently done in the old days when understudies were not provided—and goes on to say that it is much easier for one "at all practiced in the profession" to improvise the dialogue necessary to carry on the plot than to read from the "book" in sight of the audience; and he cites a successful case of his own improvising on being assigned a part in a play only three-quarters of an hour before the curtain rose. In a similar way Olive Logan, after citing numerous cases of the marvelous memories of actors who were compelled to master their lines on short notice,⁵⁰ goes on to say that oftentimes the "winging a part," that is, going on the stage to play a part without having studied it, is a practice "so common among actors as to excite no surprise whatever among those who have been bred to the stage."

Under such circumstances actors were, of course, expected to extemporize cleverly; and numerous were the subterfuges employed by them to conceal from the audience any deviations from the words of the "book." All students of the drama, to illustrate, have probably heard the frequently-told story of the eighteenth-century strollers, who, realizing their ignorance of the author's language, were much perturbed at seeing in one of the boxes a serious-minded gentleman studiously examining a copy of the play. Finally, as a means of protecting themselves against exposures, one of the actors very politely borrowed the book from the obliging gentleman, on the ground that the prompter's copy had unfortunately been lost.⁵¹ Again, so reputable an actor as Joe Cowell was much offended at an "unfair trick" played upon him by a thoughtless American manager. M. M. Noah, says Cowell,⁵² had

⁴⁹ *Footlight Flashes*, p. 261.

⁵⁰ *Before the Footlights and Behind the Scenes*, pp. 57 ff. Similar stories of almost incredible memory are frequent in the memoirs of the various English and American players.

⁵¹ Even letter-perfect actors frequently object to having the audience "hold the book" on them. Mrs. Mowatt (*Autobiography of an Actress*, pp. 301-302), to illustrate, has described the bad effects produced by such a practice on even experienced actors.

⁵² *Thirty Years passed among the Players*, p. 63.

made a play called *The Grecian Captive*, "supposed to be written in blank verse, that is, good, wholesome, commonplace language, the wrong end foremost, after the manner of Sheridan Knowles." Since he and Simpson had only one night in which to memorize two longish parts written in such difficult language, they were cutting and altering their lines on the stage to their hearts' content when suddenly Simpson discovered that nearly the whole audience had been supplied with "books of the play" by the ambitious manager, who believed in advertising, and were wildly consulting text and neighbors in a futile endeavor to follow the words of the actors on the stage. To what extent Simpson and Cowell might have succeeded in their wholesale slashing of lines had it not been for the manager's "unfair trick" is possibly illustrated by the very interesting, though untrustworthy, anecdote⁵³ of the great Edmund Kean while performing the rôle of Orestes at Edinburgh to the Pyrrhus of an inexperienced but letter-perfect actor. Kean had forgotten his part almost entirely, but so well did he extemporize and practice the various tricks of his profession that on the following day his acting was loudly praised by the critics, one of whom, more subtle than the rest, remarked of the letter-perfect Pyrrhus that, whereas he looked his part admirably and was splendidly costumed, he was evidently imperfect and should be more careful to know his lines "when standing by the side of so great an actor as Mr. Kean." Even more audacious than Kean, if we can trust the account of John Bernard,⁵⁴ was the early American actor, John Hodgkinson, on the occasion of a great New York success.

Various similar stories, most of them no doubt greatly exaggerated, might be cited in proof of our old actors' skill in the art of "vamping." Such anecdotes are mentioned here, not in any sense as an excuse for actors being imperfect, but to illustrate that if players are going to be imperfect for any reason at all, it is desirable that they conceal that imperfection by presence of mind and experience in extemporal composition.⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. Fitzgerald's *Theatrical Anecdotes*, pp. 60-61.

⁵⁴ *Retrospections of America*, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that Wilhelm Meister and the "stranger" in Goethe's novel advocate extempore acting as a very necessary part of the training of actors (Carlyle's translation, Bk. II, chap. ix).

Such qualities are even more desirable when they are employed by actors as a means, not of concealing their own lack of industry, but to cover up the blunders of fellow-players or to save the situation in case of an accident or a practical joke; for innumerable instances have occurred on the stage where a temporary departure from the author's text was absolutely imperative. And it is on such occasions that the inexperienced, the excitable, or even the over-conscientious actor has made himself no less than his comrades on the stage an object of ridicule. Macready's nervous and irritable nature, for instance, is said to have got this really great man into numerous such situations, as is illustrated by James E. Murdock's account of his fury at a lowly subordinate's stage fright.⁵⁶ "Had such an accident occurred to the elder Booth," says Murdock by way of contrast, "he would have covered up the 'effect defective,' and saved the man from disgrace and himself from mortification by one of those improvised efforts in stage-business for which he was so famous;" and later on⁵⁷ Murdock gives a striking instance of how he himself was saved from disgrace by the happy improvisation of the great actor. Again, the habit of adhering to the exact words of the "book" at all times has been often praised in English actors from Betterton to Powell, or later, but the absurdity of an over-conscientious following of the text is revealed by a number of stories, the most striking of which, perhaps, is O'Keeffe's account of Isaac Sparks at Dublin⁵⁸ during a performance of Dryden's *Amphitryon*. Sparks, who was noted for keeping to the words of the author at all times, was acting Justice Gripus to the Mercury of the mischievous Vandermeer. In the scene where Mercury grasps the justice by the ear, Vandermeer, in a spirit of fun, laid hold of the large bushy eyebrows of his companion and continued to pull them with considerable force until Sparks, after some hesitation and a hard mental struggle, protested thus in Dryden's exact words: "Will you leave lugging me by the ears?"

Rare indeed must have been the players who have remained

⁵⁶ *The Stage*, pp. 105-106.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

⁵⁸ *Recollections*, I, 313-14. Alfred Bunn (*The Stage*, I, 28-29) tells a story almost as absurd regarding Elliston and Powell, the latter a noted stickler for the exact words of the author.

faithful to their authors under similar circumstances; yet the few who have are no less ridiculous than those unfortunate beings who have failed miserably in their endeavor to save a stage situation,—such mortals, for instance, as the hero of one of James Fulton's stories, who, when a revolver of the heroine in *Fly by Night* snapped three times in his face, finally had the ingenuity to thump upon the stage with the comment, "My God! I've been shot with an air-gun!"—or the actor Still, who, while playing Willoughby in Frederick Reynolds's *The Dramatist*, suddenly discovered in the combat scene that he had left his rapier behind the scenes but compensated for his absent-mindedness by improvising as follows when a large basket-handle sword was thrust to him from the wings: "Ah! lucky circumstance; someone has left a sword sticking in a tree!"⁵⁹ If Frederick Reynolds could have heard the exclamation of Still, probably he would have been less indignant at the unfortunate Sebastian during the initial performance of his *Werter* at Bath in 1785. In the last act of the performance, writes Reynolds, where the faithful friend is urged to save Werter from suicide, "the actor who played Sebastian stared, started, and paused, as if his memory had been playing the traitor to him. The frantic Charlotte, with the view of screening him from detection, or of recalling his recollection, seized him by the arm, and in a tone of agony, exclaimed,

'Fly, lose not a moment—suicide!'

'Heavens!' replied Sebastian, in a most evident state of confusion, and then added,

'I'm rooted here, and have not power to stir!'

As he spoke, he crossed Charlotte, and made as *rapid* an *exit* as ever was witnessed on any stage."

Fortunately numerous players have been more successful in their improvisations at crucial times. In pleasing contrast to the ridiculous scenes which have been staged by irritable or over-excited actors in consequence of the blunders of their fellow-players are those instances where a ready wit and the ability to extemporize have effectively saved the situation. We have already seen how

⁵⁹ Leman: *Memoirs of an Old Actor*, pp. 113-14.

Booth aided the inexperienced Murdock on such an occasion. Henry Lee somewhat egotistically relates⁶⁰ how a Miss Thornhill once forgot her part while acting Portia and how on the spur of the moment he altered the scene in such a manner as to make her lapse of memory appear entirely natural; Ludlow⁶¹ tells how the actor Drake very cleverly changed the text of a farce and thereby concealed the youthful Ludlow's stage-fright from the audience; and Lord Lennox relates how a youthful prodigy acting the rôle of Young Norval in Home's *Douglas* stuck dead at the beginning of the famous soliloquy, "My name is Norval; on the Grampian Hills," etc., when an actor on the stage with him, seeing the predicament of the boy, spoke the soliloquy for him thus: "This youth's name is Norval; on the Grampian Hills," etc.⁶²

Shortcomings other than loss of memory have frequently been concealed by the presence of mind of friendly actors. The famous Peg Woffington, according to a frequently told anecdote,⁶³ once helped the drunken Quin out of an absurd position by a happy improvisation. Again, Thornton, the noted eighteenth-century stroller, says John Bernard,⁶⁴ was too fond of wearing a particular Scottish costume, and accordingly sometimes made a very incongruous appearance in certain plays. His appearance as Steadfast in *The Heir at Law* was especially ridiculous; so that the audience naturally began to show signs of mirth. Henry Moreland, realizing the danger, smoothed over things immediately by explaining that since he and Steadfast had been wrecked, *not on the American coast* but on the coast of Scotland, and since his unfortunate companion had lost his clothes in the disaster, he had been forced to borrow the Highland costume. Benson Hill⁶⁵ relates a similar bit of kindness. While playing Dangle to Daniel Terry's Sir Fretful Plagiary in Sheridan's *Critic*, he noticed that Terry had forgotten his very essential snuff box and at once extemporized: "My dear Sir Fretful, you have often praised my snuff; favour me by accepting this box full, as a slight mark of my admiration."

⁶⁰ *Memoirs*, II, 47-49.

⁶¹ *Dramatic Life as I Found It*, pp. 9-10.

⁶² *Plays, Players, and Playhouses*, II, 37.

⁶³ Cf., for example, Oxberry's *Anecdotes of the Stage*, p. 94.

⁶⁴ *Retrospections of the Stage*, I, 27.

⁶⁵ *Playing About*, II, 127.

"Terry," continues Hill, "who had found, too late, that he had left his own behind, now took mine, with an earnest squeeze, saying, 'Mr. Dangle, I cannot, at this moment, express how much I am indebted to you.'" Even more commendable was the friendly spirit in which a sympathetic actor is said to have rescued Mrs. Jordan from an especially trying situation. When she received the notice of her desertion by the Duke of Clarence, later King William IV, the actress was greatly disturbed, but nevertheless insisted on acting that night the rôle of Nell in *The Devil to Pay*. In the scene between Nell and Jobson, Nell is supposed to laugh immoderately and Jobson to remark: "Why, Nell, the Conjuror has not only made you drunk but he has made you laughing drunk." At this point Mrs. Jordan, in consequence of her nervous condition, is said to have burst into tears instead of laughter, at which her companion altered his line into "Why, Nell, the Conjuror has not only made thee drunk, but he has made thee crying drunk."⁶⁶

Other tearful scenes have been alleviated by clever actors but probably with less Christian spirit than that which actuated the friend of Mrs. Jordan. Ludlow,⁶⁷ to illustrate, describes with the pride of a father a situation which arose in consequence of a fight which took place on the stage between his two boys—one aged three years, the other sixteen months—while impersonating the children of Joe Cowell as the itinerant tinker, Caleb Pipkin, in *The May Queen*. When the youngsters had attracted too much attention to themselves in their struggle for the possession of an old stew pan and the younger had drawn applause from the audience and tears from his brother by rapping him over the head with the object of contention, Cowell turned solemnly toward them and extemporized in character:

Ah, boys, boys; you forget what I have so often read to you from your primer,

Dear children, never let your angry passions rise,
Those little hands were never made to tear each others' eyes.

The effect, avers Ludlow, was electric, audience and actors alike roaring with laughter at the serio-comic utterance. By no means

⁶⁶ *Public and Private Life of Mrs. Jordan*, p. 82.

⁶⁷ *Dramatic Life as I Found It*, p. 356.

so ingenious was Wilson's alteration of the text of *Pizarro* to accommodate the tooth-ache of Mrs. James Wallack, Jr., when she was an infant employed in the rôle of "Cora's child." Just as Rollo was to exclaim,

And wilt thou harm that child?
By Heaven, 'tis smiling in thy face!

the future Mrs. Wallack gave a howl of pain so loud as to compel Rollo to substitute for the last line the words, "By Heaven, 'tis *blubbering* in thy face!"⁶⁸

Sometimes a motive which can hardly be described as friendly has induced an actor to extemporize so cleverly as not only to win applause for himself but to excuse the mal-practice of his companion on the stage. A case in point is the remark of Charles Matthews to the youthful Pinero, who was playing Cool to the former's Dazzle in *London Assurance*. Being an inexperienced actor and finding himself on the wrong side of the stage when he was to enter with a letter, Pinero became desperate. "To work my way round," writes Sir Arthur,⁶⁹ "would have occasioned two or three minutes; there was no door on my side; so, without hesitating, I squeezed myself through a small opening in the scene, where two 'flats' had been imperfectly joined. I stood before Dazzle flushed and breathless. He gave me a smile, and, turning to Charles Courtley, who was looking for me in the opposite direction, observed, 'Here's Cool, *he has just walked through a brick wall.*'"⁷⁰ Not only a striking instance of quickness of wit but a delicious comment on the temperaments of two eighteenth-century rival stars is Cooke's story⁷¹ of Mrs. Clive and Mrs. Prichard when both had become corpulent but nevertheless undertook the rôles of Lady Easy and Edging in *The Careless Husband*:

In the part where the former desires the latter to take up a letter which

⁶⁸ Leman's *Memoirs of an Old Actor*, p. 71.

⁶⁹ Cited in Broadbent's *Annals of Liverpool Stage*, pp. 311-12.

⁷⁰ George Frederick Cooke, if we can trust one of the best known theatrical anecdotes, was by no means so considerate on a somewhat similar occasion. When Cooke in the rôle of Richard III started up with the query, "Who's there?" the amazed amateur stuck at an unfortunate moment in his reply: "'Tis I, my lord, the early village cock"—"Why the devil don't you crow, then?" inquired Richard with a glare.

⁷¹ *Memoirs of Samuel Foote*, II, 219-20.

is dropt upon the stage, Mrs. Clive (who could as well have taken up the monument) cried out, "Not I, indeed! take it up yourself, if you like it." This threw an equal embarrassment on the other; which the audience seeing, began to titter. At last Mrs. Pritchard, with great presence of mind, replied: "Well, madam Pert, since you won't take up the letter, I must only get one that will"; and accordingly beckoned towards the side scene, when one of the servants of the house came forward and terminated the dispute.

So far we have confined ourselves to cases where actors by clever improvisation have concealed or alleviated the mistakes of fellow players on the stage. It is useless to burden the reader with the large number of instances where the failings of prompter or property man, the caprice of stage properties or machinery, the misconduct of stage pets or the audience have been smoothed over by rare presence of mind and extemporal ability,⁷² such stories, for instance, as the frequently told anecdote of Fechter, who, when impersonating the pirate captain on board a ship tossed by an undulating ocean acted by a blue cloth and numerous supers, was surprised to see the head and shoulders of an amazed super bob up through a rent in the canvas, but who saved the situation by crying, "A man overboard!" and hauling the terror-stricken creature on board the pirate ship. Perhaps, however, it will be worth while to mention in conclusion two or three instances of a more difficult sort of extemporizing than most of those mentioned above; that is, cases of actors concealing *their own* blunders in the presence of the audience by a suitable alteration of the text. Joe Cowell describes⁷³ an interesting case of a quick recovery on the part of an actor named Reymes while impersonating Tobias in *The Stranger*. In one of the highly sentimental scenes which characterize the play the actor was to remark: "Here is the hut where I was born. Here is the tree that grew with me; and—I am almost ashamed to confess it—I have a *dog* which I love." By one of those strange tricks of the tongue which have spelled the ruin of many an actor, he substituted *duck* for the *dog* which was the object of

⁷² For instances in point see, for example, Wood's *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, p. 112; Reddall's *Wit and Humor of the Stage*, p. 236; Pemberton's *John Hare*, pp. 80-81; Larwood's *Theatrical Anecdotes*, pp. 103-104; Leman's *Memoirs of an Old Actor*, p. 370; Archer's *Masks or Faces*, p. 163, etc.

⁷³ *Thirty Years Passed among the Actors*.

his love. Cowell, who was on the stage at the time of the verbal blunder, could not refrain from laughing; but Reymes, with a straight face and without the least sign of nervousness, followed up his mistake with the comment: "Smile if you please, but hear me. My benefactress once came to my hut herself. The poor *bird*, unused to see the form of elegance enter the door of penury, *quacked* at her. 'I wonder you keep that waddling ugly *fowl*, Mr. Tobias,' said she. 'Oh, Madam,' I replied, 'if I part with my *duck*, are you sure that anything else will love me?' She was pleased with my answer." The American actress Mrs. Melmoth, is credited⁷⁴ with an even more striking recovery from a blunder committed by herself while playing the rôle of Mrs. Bland in Dunlap's *The Glory of Columbia*. In the scene where the lady receives the very important letter announcing the fate of her son, the prompter very negligently sent on the property letter that Jerry Diddler writes his sweetheart in the old farce of *Raising the Wind*; and Mrs. Melmoth, absorbed in the acting of her highly emotional part, snatched the letter and read fervently the superscription, "To the beautiful maid at the foot of the hill." The audience, familiar with Diddler and his epistle through Jefferson's admirable acting of the farce, recognized the language of Jerry and began to titter. In a flash, records Wood, the actress grasped the situation and "proceeded to extemporize the contents of the letter, and to connect it with the character so cleverly as to take off attention to the mysterious address." Less prompt to act than Reymes or Mrs. Melmoth but more remarkable, considering his condition at the time, was the drunken father of the celebrated Miss Farren, afterwards Countess of Derby. Says Petronius Arbiter in his rather slanderous biography of that lady,⁷⁵ the following anecdote of her father was frequently told in Liverpool as late as 1797:

Having occasion in one of his parts to tear a letter, he was so tipsy that after exclaiming seven or eight times, "and thus I tear the letter," and making seven or eight attempts, in each of which his hand missed it, he altered the text of the author to "and thus I throw the letter from me"; and threw it down and the Play proceeded.

It is only fair to Farren to add that the author of *The Testimony*

⁷⁴ Wood's *Personal Recollections of Stage*, p. 112.

⁷⁵ *Memoirs of the Present Countess of Derby*.

of *Truth to Exalted Merit* (1797) pronounces Arbiter's pamphlet "a false and scandalous libel."

Now just what significance can be attached to the rather miscellaneous material which precedes? Even a cursory examination of stage improvisation shows, I believe, that training in the art of extemporizing should be an important part of the equipment of every serious-minded actor, even if this practice is not carried to the extent advocated by Wilhelm Meister; and that Strindberg is advising no dangerous innovation in suggesting that reliable actors be given more liberty in the speaking of their lines. The story is told⁷⁶ that Wilkie Collins eliminated the rôle of Abraham Sage from his *Miss Gwilt* because an ambitious young player sought to enliven the part of the old gardener by putting more "Sirs" into his mouth than had been put there by the author. Such a high-handed application of Hamlet's advice to the players, whereas it may sometimes be a desirable disciplinary measure, can hardly result in anything except listless and mechanical acting, just as the unrestrained employment of *ad libitum* parts must necessarily lead to frequent offences against morals and good taste; and the author who places such an importance upon the minutest details of his own composition cannot expect an actor to take advantage of circumstances to the "infinite service of the piece" or save the situation in case of accident or blunder on the stage. The words of Tate Wilkinson are just as applicable to-day as they were a hundred and forty years ago:

I do not wish to be too rigid, for I know many an impromptu to be of infinite service to the piece, and the actor of course to the audience; but the actor should have such a curb on his wit, as to be careful that what he lets off from the fire of whim and genius is strictly in time and place, and character, and then let him be as witty as he pleases; but beware in any play of Shakespeare's, for the true value is as different as a French Assignat to a Bank Note of Old England.

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⁷⁶ Cf. Broadbent's *Annals of the Liverpool Stage*, p. 313.

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